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Involvement Of Men In Responsible Parenthood In Croatia, India, And Mexico: Major Factors, Correlates, And National Policy

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INVOLVEMENT OF MEN IN RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD IN CROATIA, INDIA, AND
MEXICO: MAJOR FACTORS, CORRELATES, AND NATIONAL POLICY

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ABSTRACT

For this research I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their endorsement of paternity leave policies as a way to begin to understand the determinants of men's support of paternity leave policies. In addition, in order to understand factors that influencing paternal involvement, I examined the association between men's gender attitudes and their actual involvement in caregiving among a sub-sample of fathers. I also explored whether men's leave-taking when their child was born mediated the association between their gender attitudes and involvement in child care. Considering the importance of national policy documents for promotion men's participation in childcare, I also documented national policy efforts undertaken by governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico from 1995 through 2014 to increase paternal involvement. This 20-year time period was selected because it coincides with the timeframe of adoption and implementation of the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action.

I found that more egalitarian gender attitudes were positively associated with paternity leave endorsement among men in Croatia and India, regardless of their partner status. However in Mexico, I found this association only among men with stable partners. At the same time, the association between men's gender attitudes and paternity leave policy endorsement among Mexican men without stable partners was also positive, but not statistically significant. In terms of paternal involvement, I found that fathers' egalitarian gender attitudes were positively correlated with their involvement in

childcare, albeit only in Croatia. Moreover, I found that fathers' leave taking when their child was born was not significantly correlated with their involvement in child care in any of the countries, thus, it could not serve as a mediator of the association between men's gender attitudes and paternal involvement.

For my policy analysis, I reviewed 33 national policy documents from Croatia, India, and Mexico. I found that from 1995 to 2014, the governments of all three countries acknowledged the importance of paternal involvement in the majority of analyzed documents. Paternal involvement was referenced in various types of policy documents including national policies, acts/laws, plans, programs. However, I found that the ways in which paternal involvement was addressed in the policy documents notably varied across countries. The majority of the policy documents from Croatia (9 of 11 policies) had the potential to affect men's involvement in childcare. At the same time, more than half of the policy documents from Mexico (9 of 13 policies) and India (7 of 9 policies) failed to recognize the importance of men in childcare work.

Thus, results of my research suggest that between 1995 and 2014, national policy documents in all three countries acknowledged the importance of paternal involvement. However, the governments of India and Mexico have been slow to implement policy efforts aimed at addressing gender disparities in child caregiving. Considering that the Sustainable Development Goals specifically focus on the recognition and value of unpaid care and domestic work, the governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico will need to take more concrete steps to promote shared responsibility for families and to shift norms and practices away from the belief that childcare is the exclusive domain and responsibility of women as mothers.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GDP.....	Gross Domestic Product
GEM Scale	Gender Equitable Men Scale
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICPD PoA	International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
UN.....	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP.....	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

In September 1994, representatives of governments, intergovernmental organizations, UN agencies, and non-governmental organizations met in Cairo, Egypt at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) to discuss and come to a consensus on a new approach to address problems related to population and development. At the conclusion of the conference, 179 countries adopted the ICPD Programme of Action (ICPD PoA) (UNFPA, n.d.a). This Programme of Action focused on addressing the needs of women and men through sustainable development, health, education, equality and empowerment of women. ICPD recommended actions included men taking responsibility for their social and family roles through the implementation of special efforts that “emphasize men’s shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood” (Male responsibilities and participation section, para. 4.27) (United Nations, 1995a). Subsequently, the importance of men’s involvement in unpaid work, including childcare, was emphasized in other globally recognized agreements, such as the Beijing Platform for Action (UNWOMEN, n.d.a.), the World Summit for Social Development Programme of Action (United Nations, 1995b), and, most recently, the 2015 United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, n.d.).

Evidence suggests that paternal involvement is important for mothers', fathers', and children's well-being. For example, when men are involved in childcare, women are able to earn more money and experience greater equality in the division of household responsibilities (Baxter, 2000; Drago, 2011; Johansson, 2010). Benefits from being involved in childcare for men range from greater longevity, life satisfaction, better physical and mental health to lower rates of sickness-related work absences, alcohol abuse, and substance abuse (Bratberg & Naz, 2009; Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; Månsdotter, Lindholm, & Winkvist, 2007; Månsdotter, Backhans & Hallqvist, 2008; Månsdotter & Lundin, 2010). Finally, with increased involvement of men in childcare, children experience more favorable health outcomes, including lower rates of infant mortality and better physical and mental health (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, Horowitz, & Kinukawa, 2008; Dex & Ward, 2007; Dubowitz, et al., 2001; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003a; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003b; Lamb, 2010; Tanaka, 2005).

Since the creation of the ICPD PoA, in order to remove some institutional and cultural barriers that prevent fathers from fully engaging with their children and promote paternal involvement, governments adopted paternity leave and gender equality reconciliation policies. In addition, numerous studies have examined men's perceptions of paternity leave policies, determinants of paternal involvement, and national policy efforts implemented with aim to promote men's involvement in childcare (Baird & O'Brien, 2015; Dearing, 2016; Earle, Mokomane & Heymann, 2011; Grover, 1991; Haas, 1992; Haas & Rostgaard, 2011; Lin & Rantalaaho, 2003; O'Brien, 2009; Ray, Gornick & Schmitt, 2009; Waldfogel, 2001; Wüst, 2009). However, the majority of these studies

focused on countries with major developed economies¹. Thus, there is a skewed and only partial understanding of the impact of men's involvement in childcare globally. As pointed out by Richter and colleagues (2011) "we simply do not know enough about men's [fathering] experiences in the majority [of the] world" (p. 69). There is a great need for research in all regions of the world, given significant cultural, historical, and socioeconomic differences in how patriarchy is expressed.

1.2 Research project

Manuscript I

For Manuscript I, I explored how men perceive paternity leave policies and what personal characteristics are correlated with paternal involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. This research is guided by the gender attitudes model, which posits that parents' gender attitudes determine how they divide childcare responsibilities. Gender attitudes can be defined as a socially constructed script, which shape different behaviors, activities, values, roles, and personality characteristics for women and men. An individual makes decisions and determines his or her own behavior based on their gender attitudes (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Corrigan & Konrad, 2006; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Gaunt, 2006). Gender attitudes range from traditional to egalitarian. The gender attitudes model suggests that traditional gender role attitudes emphasize men's roles as breadwinner and decision maker and women's roles as homemaker and caregiver. In contrast, egalitarian gender attitudes allow less gender-differentiated divisions of labor outside and inside the home, which result in more egalitarian power relations between women and men (Gaunt, 2006; Katz-Wise, Priess & Hyde, 2010; Rogers & Amato, 2000;

¹ Countries with major developed economies include: Canada, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom and United States.

Trachtenberg, Anderson & Sabatelli, 2009).

In this paper, I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their endorsement of paternity leave policies as a way to begin to understand the determinants that predict men's support of paternity leave policies. This is significant because results of this research can inform the development of more effective policies aimed at increasing men's involvement in childcare and support for paternity leave policies. In addition, among a sub-sample of fathers, I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their actual involvement in caregiving. Because men who hold more egalitarian gender attitudes are often more willing to take paternity leave and because paternity leave taking increases the likelihood that men will be involved in childcare, I considered whether taking paternity leave mediated the association between men's gender attitudes and involvement in child care.

Manuscript II

For Manuscript II, I conducted a qualitative content analysis of national policy documents directed at men's involvement in childcare, which were adopted in Croatia, India, and Mexico during the ICPD PoA timeframe: 1995-2014. This study focused on national policy documents because they are considered an important factor that can contribute to the promotion of men's involvement in childcare within a given society (Švab & Humer, 2013). In the short term, these policy efforts provide parents with options to equalize their allocation of time between the labor market and caregiving. In the long term, they can transform the gendered divisions of paid labor and unpaid child caregiving by shaping social constructions of parenthood and determining what is considered "normal" gender responsibilities and "good parenting" (Gornick, 2012;

Rostgaard, 2002).

For this study, I analyzed several types of national policy documents including (1) laws/acts, (2) policies, (3) plans, and (4) programs. I applied the symbolic and material policy typology (Howlett, 2000; Hood, 1986) to characterize policy documents from Croatia, India, and Mexico. According to Anderson (2000), application of symbolic and material policy typology "directs our attention beyond [the] formal policy statement" (p. 15) by postulating that policy documents can be classified as either symbolic or material depending on the benefits they allocate to their target populations. Symbolic policies include statements of intent for social betterment (e.g., empower families for shared parenting) without outlining any specific actions. These policies bring attention to an issue and may influence other policies; however, they have little real material impact on their beneficiaries and do not necessarily lead to implementation of any interventions or changes in societal conditions or behaviors. Material policies, in contrast, provide tangible resources, material benefits, and substantive power to their beneficiaries. These policies result in actual implementation of relevant interventions that have the potential to change societal conditions (Anderson, 2000; Anderson, 2010; Birkland, 2005; Howlett, 2000; Place, et al., 2015).

Research contexts

The countries included in this research were purposefully selected due to the limited number of empirical studies related to men's involvement in childcare previously conducted in these countries and a desire to capture lessons learned from a range of contexts. The selected countries contrast on a number of key characteristics, including

Gender Inequality Index² scores. For example, in 2015 Croatia was one of the high ranked countries in terms of gender equality, the country's Gender Inequality Index score was 0.141, ranking it 31 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016a). Conversely, India was among the lowest ranked countries on the Gender Inequality Index; country's score was only 0.530, ranking it 125 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016b). Finally, Mexico was among the middle ranked countries on the Gender Inequality Index with a score of 0.345, ranking it 73 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016c). However, despite these differences the governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico have made public commitments to achieve the ICPD PoA goals and objectives (UNFPA, n.d.b.; UNFPA, n.d.c.; UNFPA, n.d.d.).

1.3 Aims, hypotheses, and research questions

Manuscript I

Specific aims of the study were to:

Specific Aim 1.1. Determine if men's gender attitudes are associated with their endorsement of paternity leave policies in Croatia, India, and Mexico.

Specific Aim 1.2. Determine if men's gender attitudes are associated with their involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico.

Specific Aim 1.3. Examine if men's leave taking when their child was born mediate the association between their gender attitudes and caregiving involvement.

I tested the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Men's gender attitudes would be positively correlated with their endorsement of paternity leave policies.

² The Gender Inequality Index measures gender inequalities in three aspects of human development: reproductive health (i.e. maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates), empowerment (i.e. proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by women and proportion of adult women and men aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education) and economic status (i.e. labor force participation rate of men and women aged 15 years and older) (UNDP, n.d.).

Hypothesis 2: Among fathers, gender attitudes would be positively correlated with involvement in caregiving.

Hypothesis 3: Among fathers, paternity leave taking after their child's birth would mediate the association between gender attitudes and involvement in caregiving.

Manuscript II

Specific aim of the study were to:

Specific Aim 2.1. Ascertain whether and how recommendations from the major global agreements and conventions related to promotion of men's involvement in childcare were addressed in the national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico.

The research questions associated with this specific aim were as follows:

Research Question 2.1.a. Was the promotion of men's involvement in childcare addressed in the national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico? If so,

Research Question 2.1.b. Were policy documents substantially more symbolic in their content, rather than material, thereby offering only limited support to efforts that promote men's involvement in childcare?

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

At the beginning of this chapter I briefly review the main benefits of paternity leave use and men's involvement in childcare. I also review the major predictors of men's support for paternity leave policies and men's involvement in childcare. The reviewed studies are mostly conducted in countries with major developed economies. Special attention is given to results of previous studies on predictors of men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. In addition, I provide brief information about major global agreements and conventions on gender equality as well as about Croatia, India, and Mexico. Finally, I review the results of the previous assessments of paternity leave policies and policy efforts made for promotion involvement of men in child care at the global level and in Croatia, India, and Mexico.

2.1 Benefits of men's paternity leave use and men's childcare giving

Results of numerous studies confirm that involvement of fathers in childcare and paternity leave use are associated with benefits for children and for parents. With the increasing involvement of fathers in childcare, children experience more favorable health outcomes including lower rates of infant mortality (Tanaka, 2005) and better physical and mental health (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, Horowitz, & Kinukawa, 2008; Dex & Ward, 2007; Dubowitz, Black, Cox, Kerr, Litrownik, ... Runyan, 2001; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003a; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003b). For women, engaging men in caregiving advances women's economic empowerment. For every month that a father takes paternity leave, a

mother's future earnings increase on average 7% (Johansson, 2010). Moreover, there is a positive association between paternity leave use and equitable share of the housekeeping roles as well as a reduced level of conflicts over household division of labor (Almqvist, Sandberg & Dahlgren, 2011; Estes, Noonan & Maume, 2007; Hook, 2010; Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011). Finally, studies suggest that paternity leave use and men's involvement in childcare is positively associated with fathers' longevity (Månsdotter, Lindholm, & Winkvist, 2007; Månsdotter & Lundin, 2010) and life satisfaction (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001). Taking into consideration these benefits, numerous initiatives and programs have been implemented throughout the world to advocate for greater availability and use of paternity leave policies as well as to promote greater involvement of fathers in childcare.

2.2 Global perspective on paternity leave policies and men's caregiving practices

2.2.1 Predictors of men's paternity leave use and male involvement in childcare

The literature on determinants of paternity leave use and men's involvement in childcare proposes a set of explanatory variables including individual factors (father, mother and child characteristics), co-parental relationship factors and contextual factors and these variables is discussed below, one domain at a time.

Individual factors

Father characteristics. Most studies have explored the impact of fathers' age and socioeconomic status (SES) on their inclination to take paternity leave and participate in childcare. In general, the results from these studies have been mixed. Some studies showed that as compared to older males, younger males are more likely to take paternity leave (Escot, et al., 2012; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; Lapuerta, Baizán & González, 2011; Sundström & Duvander, 2002) and to assume more childcare responsibilities

(Dušanić & Promundo, 2012; Guzmán, 2007; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Mena & Rojas, 2010; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Rojas Martínez, 2006; Sullivan, Billari & Altintas, 2014; Velásquez, 2006). Other studies, however, have found the opposite results; fathers from the youngest age group are not likely to take paternity leave (Reich, 2011) and are less involved in childcare (Kulik & Sadeh, 2015; Murshid, 2016; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010) than fathers from the oldest age category.

Several reasons may explain these inconsistent findings regarding age, including the different ways of measuring age across studies. For instance, Reich (2011) divided respondents into three age groups. ICRW and Promundo (2011) had four age groups, whereas Lapuerta et al. (2011) and Rojas Martínez (2006) compared two age groups. Moreover, researchers have examined different age ranges across studies. For example, the research by ICRW and Promundo (2011) focused on fathers aged 18 to 59 years, whereas Ishii-Kuntz (2012) focused on fathers aged 25 to 45 years. Another possible explanation of inconsistent findings is that age may have the opposite effect on the fathers' willingness to take paternity leave versus be involved in childcare. On the one hand, in comparison to younger fathers, older fathers may be more financially stable and educationally prepared to assume fatherhood responsibilities. They may also be more likely to have access to paternity leave at their jobs. Conversely, younger fathers may hold less stereotypical views about paternal behaviors and have more physical energy for engagement in childcare. Thus, age appears to be an inconsistent predictor of fathers' paternity leave use and their involvement in childcare and the policy and economic contexts may help to explain the directionality of effects of this variable.

Fathers' socioeconomic status (SES) has also not been consistently linked with

paternity leave taking and involvement in childcare. For example, several studies have found a positive association between paternity leave taking and fathers' education (Brandth & Kvande, 2002; Haas & Hwang, 2008; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; Lappegård, 2008; Lapuerta et al., 2011; Månsdotter, Fredlund, Hallqvist & Magnusson, 2010; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Reich, 2011) and income (Lappegård, 2012; Månsdotter et al., 2010). Numerous studies also found a positive association between fathers' education and income and their involvement in childcare (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Dušanić & Promundo, 2012; Flouri, 2005; Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; García-Mainar, Molina & Montuenga, 2011; González, Miret & Treviño, 2010; Guzmán, 2007; Jayakody & Phuong, 2012; Juhari, Yaacob & Talib, 2013; Kah, 2012; Kulik & Sadeh, 2015; Murshid, 2016; Sullivan, et al., 2014). At the same time, results from other studies suggest that fathers with lower incomes and lower educational attainment are more involved in caregiving (Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; ILO, 2012; Jesmin & Seward, 2011; Seward, Yeatts, Zottarelli, & Fletcher, 2006) and more inclined to take paternity leave (Escot et al., 2012).

The observed inconsistent findings may be because fathers' SES affects their parenting practices through several mechanisms, which sometimes work in opposite ways. For instance, fathers with higher levels of education may have a greater willingness to assume more childcare responsibilities. They also tend to be in more stable work situations and be financially able to compensate for income losses associated with paternity leave use. At the same time, these fathers may be able to afford non-family help with childcare, such as hired help or daycare, resulting in less need for their involvement in caregiving. Moreover, fathers who are able to provide adequate financial support for

their families may feel that they have fulfilled fatherhood responsibilities and therefore, be less inclined to participate in childcare. Hence, a complex set of contextual factors should be considered during interpretation of the directionality of the SES variables effect on fathers' inclination to take paternity leave and involvement in childcare.

Employment and time spent in paid employment are other important determinants of paternity leave taking and paternal involvement. Fathers who work full-time or on a permanent contract are more likely to take paternity leave in comparison to their peers who work less than full-time, are self-employed, or who are on a temporary contract (Escot, Fernández-Cornejo & Poza, 2014; Geisler & Kreyenfeld, 2011; Månsdotter et al., 2010; Reich, 2011; Sundström & Duvander, 2002; Valarino & Gauthier, 2016; Whitehouse, Diamond & Baird, 2007). Moreover, fathers who work fewer hours per week spend more time in child caregiving activities (Hewitt, Baxter & Micklejohn, 2012; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Finally, previous research has consistently shown that paternity leave utilization positively affects their subsequent levels of childcare involvement (Haas & Hwang, 2008; Huerta, Adema, Baxter, Han, Lausten, ...Waldfoegel, 2013; Jesmin & Seward, 2011; Meil, 2013; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfoegel, 2007; Tanaka & Waldfoegel, 2007; Seward, Yeatts, Amin & DeWitt, 2006; Seward et al., 2006). Thus, full- and part-time employment as well as paternity leave utilization are consistent factors that determine the level of men's involvement in childcare.

Mother's characteristics. The decision about how to allocate time inside and outside of the household is based on intra-family negotiations (Lundberg & Pollak, 2003). The bargaining partner with higher human capital, which refers to a person's education,

knowledge, skills and abilities (Oakes & Rossi, 2003), tends to have greater power that places him/her in a stronger position to negotiate parental leave taking and division of household labor. A number of studies support this hypothesis: men are more likely to take paternity leave and assume more childcare responsibilities when their female partner is similarly or more highly educated (Fagan & Barnett, 2003; García-Mainar et al., 2011; Geisler & Kreyenfeld, 2011; González et al., 2010; Haas & Hwang, 2008; Lappegard, 2008; Naz, 2010; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Sundström & Duvander, 2002), employed full-time or in high status occupations (Escot et al., 2012; Gaertner, Spinrad, Eisenberg & Greving, 2007; Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; González et al., 2010; Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Lappegard, 2008; Liu, Wu & Zou, 2016; Meteyer & Perry-Jenkins, 2010; Naz, 2010; Reich, 2011; Seward et al., 2006; Seward, et al., 2006; Sundström & Duvander, 2002) and earning more money (García-Mainar et al., 2011; González et al., 2010; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Lappegard, 2008; Lappegård, 2012; Månsdotter et al., 2010; Naz, 2010; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Seward et al., 2006; Sundström & Duvander, 2002).

However, these findings are not consistent across various countries. For example, several studies conducted in India found no significant association between mothers' employment status and levels of fathers' engagement in caregiving (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999). Moreover, Luke, Xu and Thampi (2014), who conducted a study in India, found that fathers who earn less than their spouses are less likely to be involved in caregiving. The observed inconsistencies may be related to cultural context and gender norms in India. Due to existing strong traditional and patriarchal norms, fathers may refrain from engagement in childcare as an assertion of

their masculinity regardless of employment status and level of income of their parenting partners.

Thus, mothers' education is a consistent predictor of paternal involvement across both countries with major developed economies as well as countries with emerging and developing economies. At the same time, more research in countries with emerging and developing economies is needed to explore the impact of mothers' employment status and level of income on fathers' involvement in childcare.

Child characteristics. Fathers are more likely to take paternity leave upon the birth of their first child, but are less likely to take it upon the birth of subsequent children (Lappegard, 2008; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Sundström & Duvander, 2002). Moreover, having fewer children in the family encourages fathers to spend more time with each child (Gaertner et al., 2007; Juhari et al., 2013; Kulik & Sadeh, 2015). Fathers also appear to be more involved with their sons than with their daughters (Bronte-Tinkew, et al., 2006; Goldberg, Clarke-Stewart, Rice & Dellis, 2002; Macuka, 2010; Manlove & Vernon-Feagans, 2002; McBride, Schoppe & Rane, 2002; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Rojas Martínez, 2006; Taylor & Behke, 2005; Wood & Repetti, 2004; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean & Hofferth, 2001), although this association is not always found. For example, several studies found no differences in fathers' involvement in caregiving based on the child's gender (Gaertner et al., 2007; Hossain, et al., 2005; Hossain, Roopnarine, Ismail, Hashmi & Sombuling, 2007; Laflamme, Pomerleau & Malcuit, 2002; Larson, Verma & Dworkin, 2001), and one of the studies conducted in India found that fathers were more involved in child care with their daughters than sons (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010).

The mixed results around paternal involvement by child gender may be due to the influence of other child characteristics, like the child's age, temperament, and emotional or behavioral problems on the association between child's gender and paternal involvement. For example, Flouri (2005) found that during early and middle childhood, fathers were more likely to be involved with their sons than with their daughters; however, during the adolescent period there were no gender differences in fathers' level of involvement. There is also evidence that fathers' engagement in caregiving is greater when a child is temperamentally easy or has no emotional or behavioral problems (Flouri, 2005; Goldberg et al., 2002; Manlove & Vernon-Feagans, 2002). Hence, the child's gender appears to be an inconsistent predictor of fathers' involvement in caregiving and other child's characteristics (e.g., age, temperament, emotional and behavioral problems) may affect the level of paternal involvement.

Co-parental relationship factors

Conceptual models developed by Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson (1998) and Belsky (1984) suggest that stable, well-functioning marital relations provide important support for fathers in their parenting roles. Available research conducted in countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies has confirmed that higher marital satisfaction and marital intimacy is associated with greater level of paternal involvement (Goldberg, et al., 2002; Juhari et al., 2013; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000).

Contextual factors

Arrangements of national maternity/paternity/parental leave policies play an important role in defining paternal responsibilities. Several studies have examined how

they affect fathers' leave-taking and it was found that in both countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies men are less likely to take unpaid or low paid leave (Han & Waldfogel, 2003; Huerta et al., 2013; Jesmin & Seward, 2011; Seward et al., 2006). Whereas, provision of a personal, non-transferable parental leave entitlement and flexible parental leave schemes increase the likelihood of fathers' leave-taking (Huerta et al., 2013; ILO, 2014; OECD, 2011).

Some studies have also compared the levels of paternal involvement across different countries. For example, several studies have compared gender differences in the time allocation to childcare across European countries and the researchers found that fathers from Nordic countries (e.g., Denmark) assume more childcare responsibilities than fathers from other European countries (Craig & Mullan, 2011; García-Mainar et al., 2011). Evidence also suggests that the status of women in the society and societal values regarding fatherhood, masculinity and gender roles may influence fathers' time investment in childcare. For instance, Gauthier and DeGusti (2012) examined the association between the level of paternal involvement and four gender equality indicators: position of women in societies as reflected by their employment, education, political participation and societal values about the role of women. For this study, the researchers used data collected in 15 European countries and they found that the higher the status of women in the country, the higher the level of fathers' involvement in childcare. In addition, this study found associations between countries' economic development, number of hours of paid work and level of paternal involvement. According to Gauthier and DeGusti (2012), in countries that are characterized by low economic development and high hours of paid work (e.g., Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia and

Lithuania), fathers are less involved in childcare in comparison to fathers from countries with high economic development and a low to medium number of paid work hours (e.g., Finland, Norway, Sweden).

Thus, available literature suggests that the compensation level of maternity/paternity/parental leave policies play an important role for fathers' leave-taking in both countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies. In addition, countries' economic development, number of hours of paid work, and the status of women in the society affect the level of paternal involvement.

2.2.2 Predictors of men's support for paternity leave policies

Research on the determinants of men's support for paternity leave policies has been conducted only in countries with major developed economies. Evidence suggests that individuals who would directly benefit from paternity leave or have positive attitudes towards women hold more positive attitudes toward paternity leave policies. For example, women, people of childbearing age, parents, individuals who are planning to bear children or plan to take paternity leave and people with egalitarian gender attitudes have greater support for paternity leave policies (Baxter, 2000; Grover, 1991; Hyde, Essex & Horton, 1993; Parker & Allen, 2001). At the same time, private sector employees are less supportive of paternity leave policies in comparison to state employees. Moreover, younger and more educated people are stronger supporters of paternity leave policies than their older and less educated counterparts (Baxter, 2000). Since available information is from the countries with major developed economies only, more research is needed to explore whether the major determinants of men's support for

paternity leave policies is any different in countries with emerging and developing economies.

2.2.3 Main limitations of available literature

To date, available research related to men's support for paternity leave policies and men's involvement in childcare suffers several limitations. First, the majority of available studies have been conducted in countries with major developed economies. There is lack of information about men's views on paternity leave policies and fathers' involvement in child care within countries with emerging and developing economies. Second, the majority of available research conducted in countries with emerging and developing economies have used scales, which have been validated only among populations from countries with major developed economies (Shwalb, Shwalb & Lamb, 2013). Third, there are only a few studies that explored determinants of paternal involvement across different countries, however, more research within and between regions is needed. Results of comparative studies, which focus on the differences and similarities of paternal involvement determinants between countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies or between societies with different heritages would enhance available fathering literature (Shwalb, et al., 2013).

2.2.4 Studies on predictors of paternity leave use and men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico

Croatia. Available data on men's involvement in childcare in Croatia are limited and mostly focused on educated fathers from urban areas of Croatia. Results of available studies point to the significance of child's gender and social support for paternal involvement (Borić, Roščić, Sedmak, Šepčević & Keresteš, 2011; Macuka, 2010).

Evidence suggests that Croatian fathers spend more time and pay more attention to their sons than to their daughters. They also enjoy joint activities with sons more than with daughters. In addition, fathers, who perceive greater social support from their social networks, report more positive emotions towards their children, closer monitoring of children's activities, and more frequent use of positive disciplinary methods (Borić et al., 2011).

India. The majority of studies in India have explored the impact of the father's, mother's and child's characteristics on paternal involvement and they mostly focused on middle-class fathers from urban areas. Available literature suggests that fathers who work fewer hours per week or hold secure government positions tend to be more involved in caregiving (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Sriram, 2011a). Saraff and Srivastava (2010) also found a link between fathers' age and their involvement in childcare; older fathers assume more childcare responsibilities than younger fathers. Other significant predictors of father involvement include men's experiences of being fathered and perceived support from peer groups (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Sriram, 2011a). Lastly, fathers with traditional gender attitudes exhibit a lower level of involvement in caregiving as opposed to fathers with egalitarian gender attitudes (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010).

The socioeconomic status of mothers has not been consistently linked with fathers' involvement in childcare in India. Evidence suggests that involvement of fathers in childcare is unaffected by mothers' employment status (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999) and income level (Luke et al., 2014). At the same time, a greater education level of mothers is positively associated with paternal engagement in childcare (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Regarding child characteristics, evidence shows

that the gender of a child influences the degree of father's involvement in caregiving; though, available information is mixed. For instance, Chaudhary (2013) pointed out that paternal involvement with girls is quite marginal. At the same time, Saraff and Srivastava (2010) found that fathers are more likely to be involved with their daughters than with their sons, whereas, Larson et al., (2001) found no significant differences in fathers' involvement with daughters and sons.

Mexico. The research on men's involvement in childcare in Mexico is mostly conducted among more educated, urban-based fathers and results suggest that men's unemployment, urban residency, high education level and low-income level predict their active participation in childcare (Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; Guzmán, 2007; ILO, 2012). Available information about the association between men's age and their involvement in childcare is inconsistent. Several studies found that younger fathers tend to assume more child caring responsibilities than older fathers (Guzmán, 2007; Mena & Rojas, 2010; Rojas Martínez, 2006; Velásquez, 2006), whereas Garcia and Oliveira (2005) found that middle-aged fathers (age 30-39) participate more in looking after their children as compared to their younger (age 20-29) and older (age 40-49) counterparts. They also found that fathers' position within the kinship structure was an important factors for their involvement in childcare and fathers who were household heads had greater participation in childcare in comparison to their counterparts who did not hold such positions.

Regarding mothers' characteristics, several studies found that employment outside of the home and higher levels of education were significantly associated with greater participation of men in childcare (Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; Guzmán, 2007). Lastly, several studies found son-preferences among Mexican men (Rojas Martínez, 2006;

Taylor & Behke, 2005), but this association may depend upon fathers' SES. In comparison to lower SES fathers, higher SES fathers appear to have equal aspirations for both their daughters and sons and they actively participate in the upbringing and education of their children, regardless of their child's gender (Rojas Martínez, 2006; Taylor & Behke, 2005).

In sum, the available literature on predictors of men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico is limited. Research on men's involvement in childcare is mostly focused on educated fathers from urban areas of Croatia, India, and Mexico. Moreover, I was unable to locate any research in these countries that focused on the predictors of fathers' leave taking in the event of having a child and men's attitudes toward paternity leave policies.

2.3 Country contexts

The countries included in this research were purposefully selected due to the limited number of empirical studies related to men's involvement in childcare previously conducted in these countries and a desire to capture lessons learned from a range of contexts (Table 2.1). Brief descriptions of each country contexts is discussed below.

Croatia is a country located in Southeastern Europe. The country consists of 20 counties and one city with special county status. Currently, the population of Croatia consists of the following ethnic groups: Croat (90.4%), Serb (4.4%), other (including Slovene, Bosniak, Czech, Hungarian, and Roma; 4.4%), and unspecified (0.8%). Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 and in July 2013 the country joined the European Union. As of July 2016, the total estimated population of Croatia was 4,313,707 (CIA, 2016). The World Bank, (n.d.a) classifies Croatia as a high-income

country. According to UNDP (2016a), in 2015, 92% of Croatian women have reached at least a secondary level of education in comparison with 96% of their male counterparts. Moreover, women's labor force participation rate was 46.4%, whereas, for men this rate was 58.7%. In addition, 15.2% of parliamentary seats were held by women. In 2015, Croatia was one of the higher ranked countries in terms of gender equality; the country's Gender Inequality Index score was 0.141, ranking it 31 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016a).

India is a country located in South Asia. It consists of 29 states and 7 union territories. Independence was granted to India in 1947. As of July 2016, the total estimated population of India was 1,266,883,598. The ethnic composition of the population includes 72% Indo-Aryan, 25% Dravidian, and 3% Mongoloid and other. India has the world's fourth-largest economy and as per the World Bank (n.d.a.) classification, India is lower-middle-income country. The country's major social and economic concerns include inequity in all dimensions, including gender, region, and caste. Approximately 30% of the country's population lives below the poverty line, but the poverty rates in the poorest states of India are about 3 to 4 times higher than more advanced states (CIA, 2016; World Bank, n.d.a; World Bank, n.d.b). According to UNDP (2016b), in 2015 12.2% of parliamentary seats were held by women in India; 35.3% of women and 61.4% of men have reached at least secondary level of education. Labor force participation rate for women and men was 26.8% and 79.1% accordingly. The 2015 Gender Inequality Index score was only 0.530, ranking it 125 out of 159 countries.

Mexico is a country located in North America, which consists of 31 states and one federal district. As of July 2016, the total estimated population of Mexico was

123,166,749. More than half of the population is Mestizo (62%), approximately one fourth (21%) is predominantly Amerindian, 7% is Amerindian, and the remaining 10% identifies as other. The major economic and social concerns of the country are low wages, inequitable income distribution, drugs, and high rates of violence. As per the World Bank (n.d.a.), Mexico is classified as an upper-middle-income country. It is estimated that more than half of the country's population (52.3%) lives below the poverty line. Other ongoing economic and social problems include underemployment and few advancement opportunities for the indigenous population, who live mainly in the impoverished southern states (CIA, 2016).

According to UNDP data (2016c), in 2015 56.1% of Mexican women and 59% of Mexican men have reached at least a secondary level of education. The labor force participation rate for women was 45.4%, whereas the labor force participation rate for men was 79.5%. In addition, 40.6% of parliamentary seats were held by women. In 2015, Mexico was one of the middle ranked countries in terms of gender equality; the Gender Inequality Index value was 0.345, ranking it 73 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016c).

Table 2.1. Socio-economic indicators of Croatia, India, and Mexico

	Croatia	Mexico	India
Total population (2016) ¹	4,313,707	123,166,749	1,266,883,598
Location ¹	Southeastern Europe	North America	South Asia
At least secondary level of education (2014) ²			
Women	92.0%	56.1%	35.3%
Men	96.0%	59.0%	61.4%
Labor force participation (2014) ²			
Women	46.4%	45.4%	26.8%
Men	58.7%	79.5%	79.1%
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (2014) ²	15.2%	40.6%	12.2%
Gender Inequality Index out of 159 countries (2015) ²	31	73	125

2.4 Major global agreements and conventions on gender equality

The importance of promotion of involvement of fathers in childcare and provision of paternity leave is emphasized in several major global agreements and conventions and information about their relevant recommendations is summarized Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Major global agreements and conventions on gender equality and their recommendations

Name of agreement or convention and date of issue	Recommendation
ICPD Programme of Action (1994)	<p>"Special efforts should be made to emphasize men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood" (Male responsibilities and participation section, para. 4.27) (United Nations, 1995a).</p> <p>"Governments, in collaboration with employers, should provide and promote means to facilitate compatibility between labor force participation and parental responsibilities" (Diversity of family structure and composition, para. 5.3) (United Nations, 1995a).</p>
Beijing Platform for Action (1995)	<p>"Encourage men to share equally in child care and household work and to provide their share of financial support for their families, even if they do not live with them" (Strengthen preventive programmes that promote women's health, para. C) (UNWOMEN, n.d.a).</p> <p>Ensure, through legislation, incentives and/or encouragement, opportunities for women and men to take job-protected parental leave and to have parental benefits; promote the equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, including through appropriate legislation, incentives and/or encouragement (Promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men, para. c) (UNWOMEN, n.d.a).</p>
Convention on the	"To ensure that family education includes a proper

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979)	<p>understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children" (Article 5b) (UNWOMEN, n.d.b).</p> <p>States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women: The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children. (Article 16d) (UNWOMEN, n.d.b).</p>
Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)	"Ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child" (Article 18, para. 1) (United Nations Human Rights, 1989).
Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development (1995)	<p>Promote equal partnership between women and men in family and community life and society, emphasize the shared responsibility of men and women in the care of children ... and emphasize men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood. (Commitment 5, para. g) (United Nations, 1995b).</p> <p>"Promoting social support, including good quality child care and working conditions that allow both parents to reconcile parenthood with working life" (Enhanced social protection and reduced vulnerability, 39b) (United Nations, 1995b).</p> <p>"Encouraging men to take an active part in all areas of family and household responsibilities, including the sharing of child-rearing and housework" (Enhanced quality of work and employment, 56e) (United Nations, 1995b)</p>
Sustainable Development Goals (2015)	"Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate. (Goal 5, Targets 5.4) (United Nations

	n.d.a)
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Information on treaty actions (i.e. signature³, ratification⁴, succession⁵, accession⁶ and adoption⁷) undertaken by the Governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico in relation to the major global gender equality agreements and conventions is summarized in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Treaty actions undertaken in Croatia, India, and Mexico in relation to the major gender equality global agreements and conventions*

Name of agreement or convention	Country		
	Croatia	India	Mexico
ICPD Programme of Action	Signator	Signator	Signator
Beijing Platform for Action	Signator	Ratification	Signator
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	Succession	Ratification	Ratification
Convention on the Rights of the Child	Succession	Accession	Ratification
Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development	Adoption	Adoption	Adoption
Sustainable Development Goals	Adoption	Adoption	Adoption

*Sources: ICPD Beyond 2014, n.d.; UNFPA, n.d.b; UNFPA, 2010; United Nations, 1995b; United Nations. n.d.b; United Nations, 2005; United Nations Treaty Collection, n.d.a; United Nations Treaty Collection, n.d.b.

2.5 Review of the results of previously conducted assessments of policy efforts made to promote paternal involvement

Most available research has compared the generosity of statutory leave entitlements for fathers in the case of a birth of a child (in terms of leave duration and available

³ "'Signature' of a treaty is an act by which a State provides a preliminary endorsement of the instrument. While signing does not commit a State to ratification, it does oblige the State to refrain from acts that would defeat or undermine the treaty's objective and purpose." (UNICEF, n.d., page 2).

⁴ "'Ratification' is an act by which a State signifies an agreement to be legally bound by the terms of a particular treaty" (UNICEF, n.d., page 2).

⁵ Succession refers to the transfer of international obligations, which were signed and ratified by the predecessor state (Yugoslavia) to the successor state (Croatia).

⁶ "'Accession' is an act by which a State signifies its agreement to be legally bound by the terms of a particular treaty. It has the same legal effect as ratification, but is not preceded by an act of signature" (UNICEF, n.d., page 1).

⁷ "'Adoption' is the formal act by which the form and content of a proposed treaty text are established" (UNICEF, n.d., page 1).

financial support for leave-takers) across countries with major developed economies (Baird & O'Brien, 2015; Dearing, 2016; Earle, et al., 2011; Haas & Rostgaard, 2011; Lin & Rantalaiho, 2003; O'Brien, 2009; Ray, et al., 2009; Waldfogel, 2001; Wüst, 2009), although some research has taken a more global approach. For example, the International Labor Organization (ILO) reviewed national maternity, parental, and paternity laws and practices across the world. According to the ILO (2014), in 2013, paternity leave (a statutory entitlement of fathers, which allows them to be absent from work for a period of time after their child is born) was provided only in 78 out of 167 countries, and in 70 of the 78 countries which provide this entitlement, paternity leave was paid. At the same time, in 2013 parental leave (a statutory entitlement of parents, which allows them to be absent from work after initial early paternity and maternity leaves) was governed by the legislations of only 66 out of 167 countries, and in 36 out of the 66 countries that provided this entitlement, parental leave was paid. Thus, in 2013 more than half of the countries in the world did not have any statutory parental or paternity policies for parents. Some private employers in these countries allowed their staff members to take a leave in the event of having a child, but it was not mandated. According to the ILO (2014) parental and paternity leaves and especially paid parental and paternity leaves were less available in the less industrialized parts of the world.

Some research also reviewed incentives offered by the governments in order to encourage fathers to take paternity leave and how these incentives affect fathers' paternity leave taking; however, this research was mostly focused on Scandinavian countries. For example, Haas and Rostgaard (2011) reviewed incentives (e.g., provision of father's

quota⁸, universal coverage, additional leaves and flexible leave options⁹) offered in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland, and Denmark. They found that introduction of the father's quota and increasing the amount of father's quota have resulted in substantial positive changes in fathers' paternity leave taking in Iceland, Sweden, and Norway. Introduction of flexible leave options (as in Denmark) and gender equality incentives (as in Finland) had no impact on fathers' paternity leave taking. Hence, available literature on efforts aimed to promote involvement of fathers in childcare varies in quantity across countries and in many countries with emerging and developing economies no relevant research has been conducted.

2.5.1 Review of the results of previous assessments of policy efforts made to promote paternal involvement in Croatia, India, and Mexico

Available literature about national policy efforts aimed to promote paternal involvement in Croatia, India, and Mexico is limited and is mostly focused on the countries' leave entitlements for fathers and recommendations for promotion of men's involvement in childcare.

Croatia. There is no statutory entitlement for paternity leave in Croatia, however, parents are entitled to paid maternity and parental leaves. Currently, fathers are entitled to the non-mandatory part of maternity leave. In addition, fathers are eligible to a paid parental leave (Dobrotić, 2015). Although Croatian men are eligible for leave in the case of a birth of a child, the majority of them do not exercise their right to take this leave

⁸ Father's quota is a period of leave that can be taken by fathers only on a use-it-or-lose-it basis.

⁹ Flexible leave options allow fathers to take part-time leave, for example one day per week or take leave in separate blocks over different years, for example around holiday periods. Other flexible leave options may include the possibility to take all or part of the leave any time during a defined period after birth, provision of financial support based on the duration of the taken paternity leave, opportunity for a mother and a father to take some leave at the same time.

(Brajša-Žganec, Franc, Merkaš, Radačić, Šerić & Šikić-Mićanović, 2011; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia, 2010; UNDP Croatia, 2007; UNICEF, 2011). According to Nestić, Rubil, Stubbs, and Tomić (2013), the low interest of Croatian fathers to take paternity leave is related to existing traditional gender role stereotypes. In order to promote involvement of fathers in childcare, UNICEF (2011) suggested focusing on implementation of policies that reconcile work and family life (e.g., National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality 2011–2015, Act on Maternity and Parenting Rights and Allowances, etc.). Brajša-Žganec et al., (2011) also recommended increasing awareness of parents about maternity/parental leave entitlements.

India. There is no statutory paternity leave in India, but male government and public sector employees with less than two surviving children are eligible for a 15-day paid paternity leave (Barker, Greene, Siegel, Nascimento, Segundo, ... Pawlak, 2010; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; United Nations, 2012). In addition, several multinational organizations as well as local private companies offer 3 to 15 day paternity leave for male employees when their child is born. Information about how many men exercised their rights for paternity leave is unknown. Moreover, no research has been conducted in order to understand the impact of paternity leave policy (Barker et al., 2010; Sriram, 2011b; United Nations 2005). According to UNICEF (2009) India's existing paternity leave entitlements fail to consider the fathers' role in childrearing and it is limited in its efficacy because the leave can only be used twice during a father's lifetime. Furthermore, the existing paternity leave policy mostly benefits the middle class¹⁰ and not those working

¹⁰ As per the Deutsche Bank Research (2010), the middle class in India comprises less than 30% of the total population.

in the informal sector.

Regarding the involvement of men in childcare, some literature acknowledges that Indian fathers are more involved in caregiving now than in the past (Roopnarine & Suppal, 2000; United Nations, 2005). However, in spite of Indian Government's efforts, mothers and other female family members are still the primary child caregivers in the majority of Indian families (Chaudhary, 2013). Therefore, Saraff and Srivastava (2008) recommended conducting more actions to remove cultural barriers and encourage men to be more involved in traditional female childcare tasks (e.g., feeding the child, etc.). According to Barker et al. (2010) there is also a need to develop and implement paternity leave policies and encourage fathers' participation during antenatal visits and childbirths. Finally, available literature suggests that sometimes women's rights groups in India have opposed using public funds to promote the engagement of men in childcare or to fund paternity leave due to two major reasons. First, women's rights groups are concerned that fathers will not use the paternity leave time for childcare provision. Second, they are concerned about limited available public funds for women empowerment activities. Therefore, available literature recommends strengthening relationships with these groups (Barker et al., 2010).

Mexico. In 2012, the Federal Labor Law of Mexico was modified so that working fathers are entitled to 5-days paid paternity leave in the case of a birth or adoption of a child (Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of Mexico, 2012). Estimates of how many men took paternity leave since the policy was implemented are unknown (Pérez, 2016). Although fathers' participation in caregiving in Mexico is generally low (García & Oliveira, 2001), recent research suggests that younger fathers assume more

childcare responsibilities than their older counterparts (Guzmán, 2007; Mena & Rojas, 2010; Rojas Martínez, 2006; Velásquez, 2006).

Available literature suggests that in order to promote men's caregiving it is necessary to scale up implementation of fatherhood preparation courses, information campaigns, and interventions with alternative gender messages aimed at boys and adolescent males. For example, the Instituto Nacional de la Mujer funded and conducted several national information campaigns, which targeted men with messages that “doing housework would not make them less manly” (Barker, 2008). Other relevant efforts include awareness-raising workshops on Affective Paternity and Maternity, national competitions for children (e.g., "How I See my Dad") and information campaigns, such as “Reconstructing Masculinity, Responsible Parenthood,” and Fatherhood Fairs (Figueroa & Franzoni, 2008; United Nations, 2006). Taking into consideration the importance of the work environment for paternal involvement, Barker and Verani (2008) also suggested that national efforts should target trade unions and workplaces. Finally, like in India, women's rights groups in Mexico have sometimes opposed activities to promote paternity leave and men's engagement in gender equality; therefore, available literature suggests enhancing relationships with these groups (Barker et al., 2010).

2.5.2 Main limitations of available literature

The following limitations of available literature on national policy efforts made to promote paternal involvement should be acknowledged. First, available policy analysis research varies in quantity, and in many countries, especially in countries with emerging and developing economies, research on these topics has not been conducted. Second, most research in this area is descriptive and characterized by a lack theoretical concepts

to underpin these studies. Finally, little research has been conducted outside of Scandinavian countries in order to evaluate implementation of paternity leave policies and leave taking rates (Ray et al., 2009).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 Overview of Research Design

The proposed research applies mixed methods. The gender attitudes model and symbolic and material policy typology framework provide a conceptual foundation for this research. Manuscript I focused on exploring how men perceive paternity leave policies and identifying the personal characteristics that are correlated with paternal involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. This research was guided by the gender attitudes model. For Manuscript II, I explored where and how recommendations from the major agreements and conventions related to promotion of men's involvement in childcare were addressed in the relevant national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico. The process of data analysis for Manuscript II was guided by the symbolic and material policy typology framework.

3.2 Research methods for Manuscript I

Gender attitudes model

The gender attitudes model posits that parents' gender attitudes determine how they divide childcare responsibilities. Gender attitudes can be defined as a socially constructed script, which shape different behaviors, activities, values, roles, and personality characteristics for women and men. An individual makes decisions and determines his or her own behavior based on their gender attitudes (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Corrigan & Konrad, 2006; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Gaunt, 2006).

Gender attitudes range from traditional to egalitarian. The gender attitudes model suggests that traditional gender role attitudes emphasize men's roles as breadwinner and decision maker and women's roles as homemaker and caregiver. In contrast, egalitarian gender attitudes allow less gender-differentiated divisions of labor outside and inside the home, which result in more egalitarian power relations between women and men (Gaunt, 2006; Katz-Wise, Priess & Hyde, 2010; Rogers & Amato, 2000; Trachtenberg, Anderson & Sabatelli, 2009).

Data

I used data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). IMAGES is considered the most comprehensive random household survey on attitudes and practices of men on a variety of issues, including fatherhood, caregiving, and gender attitudes. Data were collected in Croatia, India, and Mexico among men ages 18 to 59 in 2010. In each country, the survey was carried out by a local research partner in coordination with two globally recognized non-governmental organizations, Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (Barker, et al., 2011; Contreras, et al., 2012; Promundo & ICRW, n.d.).

In Croatia, IMAGES was administered in urban (Zagreb) and rural areas (Osječko-baranjska and Vukovarsko-srijemska counties). In India, data were collected among men who resided in two metropolitan areas: Delhi and Vijayawada (state of Tamil Nadu). Finally, in Mexico, data were collected in three urban areas in different regions of Mexico: Monterrey (north), Querétaro (central), and Xalapa (coastal).

The IMAGES questionnaire consisted of approximately 250 items. At least 90% of the items in the final questionnaires were common across all countries. The questionnaire

was pre-tested in each country. To ensure consistency and comparability of questions across settings, double-back translation of the questionnaires (i.e., translation of the translated questionnaires back into the original language) was conducted (Barker, et al., 2011; Contreras, et al., 2012).

To test my hypotheses, I constructed three separate samples for each country: men without stable partners, men with stable partners, and fathers with stable partners. To test hypothesis 1, I assessed the association between gender attitudes and support of paternity leave policies among men with and without stable partners. To test hypotheses 2 and 3, I examined the association between gender attitudes and fathers' involvement in childcare among fathers with stable partners. I did not test Hypotheses 2-3 among fathers without stable partners given that they comprised a very small number of fathers¹¹ and I was concerned about statistical power.

Measures and specification of variables

Dependent variables

Endorsement of paternity leave policies

Respondents were asked the following: "Do you think paternity leave should be guaranteed by law?" The variable was dichotomized as 1="Yes" vs. 0="No" or "Do not know".

Fathers' involvement in childcare

The variable was constructed from the respondents' answers about their involvement in the daily care of a child. Responses ranged from 1="Always partner" to 5="Always me". This variable was used as a continuous variable with higher values representing

¹¹ The total number of fathers without partners Croatia, India, and Mexico was 9, 17, and 6 fathers accordingly.

greater involvement in caregiving.

Independent variable

Men's gender attitudes were measured using the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale – a validated tool to assess gender norms cross-culturally (C-Change, FHI 360 & USAID, 2011). The scale was developed by Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) and tested with adolescents and youth living in low-income neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Since then, the GEM scale has been used to measure gender attitudes in more than 20 countries including India (Contreras, et al., 2012; Verma, et al., 2006), Ghana, Tanzania (Shattuck, et al., 2013), China (PATH, 2012), Canada (Nelson, Thach & Zhang, 2014), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dušanić & Promundo, 2012), Chile, Mexico, Croatia, Rwanda (Contreras, et al., 2012), Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia (C-Change, et al., 2011), and Bangladesh (Sayem & Nury, 2013).

The gender attitudes variable was constructed based on participants' responses to 14 items that were administered across all three countries. Each scale item was scored using a 3-point scale, where 1 = agree, 2 = partially agree, and 3 = do not agree. The items were summed and used as a continuous variable. The summed scores ranged from 14 to 42; higher scores represented more egalitarian gender attitudes, whereas lower scores represented traditional gender attitudes.

Mediator

Fathers' leave taking when their child was born

Fathers were asked "Did you take leave the last time you had a child". This variable was dichotomized as 1=took unpaid and/or paid leave vs. 0=did not take leave.

Control variables

Age was a continuous variable. Men's educational attainment was categorized as no-formal education to primary class V education (reference group), primary to senior secondary education, and beyond senior secondary education. I categorized monthly income as low (reference group), mid-low, mid-high and high. Men's employment was dichotomized as employed versus unemployed/retired. Number of children at the time of the interview was a continuous variable. A family's main source of income was defined based on respondents' answer to the question "Who provides the main source of income in your home?" The variable was dichotomized as 1= respondent provided the main source of income and 0=otherwise (i.e. the main source of income is provided by a spouse, government, family assistance, etc.). Finally, the following two variables were included in the models estimated on men or fathers with stable partners. Partners' educational attainment was defined using respondents' answers to the question "Do you and your partner have the same level of education or do you have more schooling or does she have more schooling?". The variable was coded as 1 if the respondent was less educated than parenting partner or both respondent and his partner had the same level of education and 0 if the respondent was more educated than the parenting partner. Partners' employment was dichotomized as employed/student/studying and working versus unemployed/retired/on leave.

Analysis plan

All analyses were estimated using the STATA software package. First, I generated frequencies and other descriptives by country for all variables to describe the analytic samples as well as to understand the data distribution and find any outliers. For binary and categorical variables, I examined frequencies for each category. For continuous

variables, I examined the range and mean. Next, for hypotheses testing I estimated a series of regression models separately for each country.

My first set of analyses focused on the association between gender attitudes and support for paternity leave policies among men, regardless of parenting status (Hypothesis 1). I estimated two models: an unadjusted logistic regression model (Model 1) and a logistic regression model with controls (Model 2). These models were stratified by partner status. My second set of analyses aimed to understand (1) if men's gender attitudes were associated with their involvement in childcare (Hypothesis 2), and (2) if men's paternity leave taking when a child was born mediated the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare (Hypothesis 3). For testing Hypothesis 2, I estimated the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare after adjustment for controls (Model 1). Model 2 tests Hypothesis 3 by including leave taking to estimate the extent to which leave taking mediated the association between men's gender attitudes and involvement in childcare.

3.3 Research methods for Manuscript II

Content analysis

According to Weber (1990), content analysis is a research method that applies a set of procedures in order to make valid inferences from the text. It is a flexible and pragmatic method for developing and extending existing knowledge and in case of my research knowledge about policy efforts aimed to promote involvement of men in childcare. Content analysis can be used for various purposes including describing trends in communication content, reflecting cultural patterns of societies, institutions, and groups, identifying the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator, or revealing the

focus of societal, institutional, group or individual attention (Weber, 1990).

Currently, researchers use three distinct approaches to interpret the content of text data: conventional, directed and summative. The main distinctions among these approaches are origins of codes, coding schemes, and threats to trustworthiness. In the case of conventional content analysis the categories and the themes for categories are derived from the data. This approach is usually applied when available literature or existing theory on a phenomenon is limited. At the same time, summative content analysis focuses on comparisons and counting of key words or content in text with aim to understand the underlying meanings of the words or the content. Researchers usually apply this approach for analysis of specific content of textbooks or manuscript types in a certain journal (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). I conducted the content analysis with application of the directed approach, which is usually applied when available literature or existing theory on a phenomenon is incomplete and would benefit from additional research.

Application of the directed approach to content analysis begins with the development of an initial coding scheme based on existing theory or previous research prior to beginning the data analysis. For my research the symbolic and material policy typology framework guided the process of initial coding. The major advantage of the directed approach to content analysis is that it allows for validation and/or extension of existing theoretical frameworks and prior research results (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Data collection procedures

Types of policy documents Several types of national policy documents were related to paternal involvement, including (1) laws/acts, (2) policies, (3) plans, and (4) programs.

In India and Mexico, a bill should be approved by both Chambers of government and subsequently signed into a law/act by the president (Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, n.d.; Parliament of India, n.d.). Whereas, in Croatia, a bill has to pass the House of Representatives and be approved by the president, after which it becomes a law/act (Voncina, et al., 2006). In Croatia, India, and Mexico, national policies, programs, and plans should comply with the countries' constitution and laws/acts.

A national policy includes a government's decisions and actions that are to be undertaken in order to address a matter of concern and achieve specific goals within a society. The policy also outlines priorities and the roles and responsibilities of different groups (Anderson, 2000; WHO, n.d.a.). Depending on a policy's matter of concern, it is drafted by a relevant statutory body of the government. For instance, gender equality policies are developed under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee for Gender Equality in Croatia, the National Women's Institute in Mexico, and the Ministry of Women and Child Development in India.

Finally, the national plan is defined as a "roadmap" that sets national goals and objectives for the country. The plan determines strategic frameworks as well as roles and responsibilities of different sectors and stakeholders for accomplishing the established goals and objectives (UNPEI, n.d.). In India, the Government carries out the planning process through National Five-Year Plans, whereas; in Mexico new political administrations launch a National Development Plan every six years. Based on these Plans, each governmental sector creates a program or a plan of action that outline a set of

specific strategies and activities that are designed to be implemented for accomplishing the Plans' goals and objectives.

Sample. From May to October 2015, I searched for national policies from Croatia, India, and Mexico using the following strategies: (1) Google search using the keywords: “policy”, “gender”, “children”, “Croatia”, “India”, and “Mexico”; (2) a focused internet search of online resources of government institutions (e.g., National Women's Institute of Mexico, Chamber of Deputies of Mexico, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare of India, Planning Commission of the Government of India, Office of the Ombudsman for Children of Croatia, Narodne novine¹², and others) in each country; (3) a review of the CEDAW State and CEDAW Shadow reports from Croatia, India, and Mexico; (4) consultations with doctoral committee members; and (5) consultations with experts in the three countries. In order to identify experts from these countries, I asked my committee members to recommend experts who would be helpful during data collection. I also contacted experts from Croatia, India, and Mexico who have published research focused on paternity leave and fathers’ involvement in childcare. In addition, I contacted experts who work with national and international institutions in promoting men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. For each person I contacted, I explained the goals of my study and asked them to suggest policy documents related to these goals. Once I became aware of a policy, I used Google search engine to find and retrieve policies. When I was not able to find a policy, I contacted the relevant ministry/government institution and requested the policy document.

¹² Narodne novine is the official gazette of the Republic of Croatia, which publishes acts, laws, regulations, decrees etc. of the Croatian Parliament, Croatian Government and the President of the Republic.

Inclusion and exclusion of policy documents. Inclusion criteria were national policy documents that were approved or modified by the Governments/Parliaments of Croatia, India, and Mexico between 1995 and 2014. This 20-year time period was selected because it coincides with the timeframe of adoption and implementation of the ICPD Programme of Action. I excluded state, local, and workplace/organizational policies. I developed a table in Excel where I recorded the key information I extracted from all identified national policy documents that were ratified or modified between 1995 and 2014 in each country. Key information included the title of the policy, date of approval/modification, justification for inclusion or exclusion of the policy from the analysis, relevant part/s of the document where references to paternal involvement were included, and the internet link for the document. I then reviewed key information from the table. Based on exclusion and inclusion criteria, I categorized each of the identified policy documents as either “included” or “excluded”.

I evaluated all identified policy documents for inclusion in three phases. In the first phase, I reviewed 91 identified documents to confirm that they were national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico that were approved or modified between 1995 and 2014. In the second phase, I searched the text of 76 policy documents to retrieve sentences that included keywords relevant to this study. Table 3.1 outlines the keywords used for the text review.

Table 3.1. Keywords used in textual analysis of policy documents

<u>English*</u>	<u>Croatian</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
Father	Otac	Padre
Fathers	Očevi	Padres
Fatherhood	Očinstvo	Paternidad
Man, male	Muškarac	Hombre
Men, males	Muškarci	Hombres
Child	Dijete	Niño, niña, hijo, hija, infante

Children	Djeca	Niños, niñas, hijos, hijas, infantes
Care	Briga, skrb	Cuidado
Paternity	Roditeljstvo	Paternidad
Leave	Dopust	Permiso, licencia

*The Constitution of India designates English as one of the official languages of the Government of India

To ensure that I used the appropriate terminology, I worked with two native Spanish speakers and two native Croatian speakers to translate search terms to the target languages (e.g., Croatian and Spanish). I also searched the texts of English versions of the selected policies. When I was unable to find documents in English, I searched the texts of Croatian and Spanish versions of the documents with assistance of either a native Spanish speaker or a native Croatian speaker, as appropriate. All documents from India were published in English; therefore, no translation assistance was needed. 49 out of 76 searched documents did not contain the key words in the text and did not discuss paternal involvement issues.

Finally, in the third phase I identified the policy documents to be retained for analysis despite the fact that they did not contain the keywords. Six policy documents were considered useful for my study because of their relevance to issues of men's involvement in childcare, in spite of their lack of reference to paternal involvement. Considering the importance of paternity leave policies for the promotion of men's involvement in childcare (UNWOMEN, n.d.a.; OECD, 2011), I included in the analysis all identified policy documents that outlined parents' leave entitlements in the case of a birth of a child regardless of inclusion of references to paternal involvement. I also retained for analysis those policy documents that were guided by the globally recognized conventions / agreements emphasizing the importance of involvement of men in childcare (e.g., ICPD PoA, CEDAW, Beijing Platform for Action, Convention of the Rights of the Child).

Analysis

During the first round of coding, I categorized policy documents by the type of document. Table 3.2 presents information about key categories and their definitions.

Table 3.2. Definitions of key categories of type of document

Category	Definition
Law/Act	[A] system of rules and guidelines which are enforced through social institutions to govern behavior... It shapes politics, economics and society...and serves as a social mediator of relations between people” (p.264) ^a .
Policy	“[P]urposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (p.4) ^b .
Plan	Defines national goals and objectives to be achieved within certain period of time and outlines a strategic framework based on which more detailed planning and budgeting can take place.
Program	A group of activities designed for implementation in order to achieve objectives of a policy. ^d

Sources: ^a Gupta, 2012; ^b Anderson, 2000; ^c UNPEI, n.d.; ^d WHO, n.d.b.

Then, with an application of a directed approach to the content analysis I categorized policy documents based on the symbolic and material policy typology framework. Policy documents that included statements of intent tied to specific actions or included specific actions for the promotion of paternal involvement in childcare were categorized as material. On the other hand, policies where paternal involvement was mentioned without any special implementation actions were categorized as symbolic. Furthermore, policies where paternal involvement was not addressed at all, despite the document’s relevance to the promotion of men’s involvement in childcare were categorized as neither material nor symbolic.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the study in the form of two manuscripts. I prepared Manuscript I for the submission to the *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* journal. This study explored (1) how men from Croatia, India, and Mexico perceived paternity leave policies and (2) what personal characteristics correlated with paternal involvement in childcare.

I prepared Manuscript II for submission to the *Community, Work & Family* journal. Manuscript II addressed two questions: (1) Was the promotion of men's involvement in childcare addressed in the national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico? If so, (2) Were policy documents substantially more symbolic in their content, rather than material, thereby offering only limited support to efforts that promote men's involvement in childcare?

4.1 Manuscript I: Men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico: Do gender attitudes matter?¹³

Abstract

For this paper I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their endorsement of paternity leave policies as a way to understand the determinants that predict men's support of paternity leave policies. Among fathers I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their actual involvement in childcare. In addition, I considered whether taking paternity leave mediates the association between men's gender attitudes and involvement in childcare. Results suggest that among men with stable partners in all three countries more egalitarian gender attitudes were associated with paternity leave endorsement. Among Croatian and Indian men without stable partners, the association between gender attitudes and endorsement of paternity leave policies was significant (but not in Mexico). Men's gender attitudes were a significant predictor of their involvement with their children only in Croatia. I also found no support that father's leave taking when their child was born would mediate the association between their gender attitudes and paternal involvement. Results of this study confirm the need for accelerating efforts to address gender disparities in child caregiving and to promote benefits of paternity leave policies in the studied countries.

Introduction

Since the creation of the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action (ICPD PoA) in 1994, there has been growing attention paid and

¹³ Salima Kasymova, Deborah Billings, Gary Barker, James Thrasher & Katrina Walsemann. To be submitted to *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*.

recognition among the governments worldwide of the importance of promoting men's participation in unpaid care work, including childcare. Evidence suggests that paternal involvement is important for mothers', fathers', and children's well-being. For example, when men are involved in childcare, women are able to earn more money and experience greater equality in the division of household responsibilities (Baxter, 2000; Drago, 2011; Johansson, 2010). Men also benefit from being involved in childcare, from greater longevity and life satisfaction and better physical and mental health to lower rates of sickness-related work absences, alcohol abuse, and substance abuse (Bratberg & Naz, 2009; Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; Månsdotter, Lindholm, & Winkvist, 2007; Månsdotter, Backhans & Hallqvist, 2008; Månsdotter & Lundin, 2010). Finally, with increased involvement of fathers in childcare, children experience more favorable health outcomes, including lower rates of infant mortality and better physical and mental health (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, Horowitz, & Kinukawa, 2008; Dex & Ward, 2007; Dubowitz, et al., 2001; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003a; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003b; Lamb, 2010; Tanaka, 2005).

Leave policies for fathers have been introduced in some countries as one way to increase men's involvement in childcare as well as to remove some of the institutional and cultural barriers that prevent fathers from fully engaging with their children. According to ILO (2014) paternity leave is defined as a statutory entitlement for fathers only, which allows them to be absent from work for a period of time immediately after the birth of their child. Whereas, parental leave is defined as a statutory entitlement for mothers and fathers, which allows them to be absent from work after initial early paternity and maternity leaves. Although paternity leave and parental leave represent

different time periods after birth of a child, sometimes, parental leave, by definition, subsumes paternity leave (O'Brien, 2009). According to the global fatherhood campaign MenCare (n.d.) the length of a leave for each parent in case birth of a child should be at least 16 weeks. This minimum length of leave is necessary to support parents in their caregiving roles as well as to develop lifelong patterns of equality in child caregiving between mothers and fathers. In addition, it is recommended that the leave entitlements for fathers should be non-transferable, job-protected, and adequately paid.

In order to improve fathers' parental leave take-up rates some countries introduced special measures and one of them is the flexibility of parental leave system. In other words, the system allows fathers to choose how and when to take parental leave. This arrangement leave some room for fathers to decide how to distribute the allotted parental leave in case birth of a child. Available literature suggests that availability of flexible arrangement in the parental leave system encourage fathers to exercise their leave rights upon their child's birth (ILO, 2014).

Studies that examine men's perceptions of paternity leave policies as well as determinants of paternal involvement tend to focus on more developed, high-income countries (Baxter, 2000; Craig & Mullan, 2011; Escot, et al., 2014; Flouri, 2005; Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; García-Mainar, et al., 2011; Grover, 1991; González, Miret & Treviño, 2010; Guzmán, 2007; Hyde et al., 1993; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Jayakody & Phuong, 2012; Juhari, et al., 2013; Kah, 2012; Kulik & Sadeh, 2015; Mena & Rojas, 2010; Murshid, 2016; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Parker & Allen, 2001 Sundström & Duvander, 2002; Sullivan, et al., 2014; Velásquez, 2006). Thus, there is a skewed and only partial understanding of the impact of men's involvement in childcare.

As pointed out by Richter and colleagues (2011) "we simply do not know enough about men's [fathering] experiences in the majority [of the] world" (p. 69). The current study aims to fill these gaps by 1) exploring how men perceive paternity leave policies and 2) identifying the personal characteristics that are correlated with paternal involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. Better understanding of factors that determine men's endorsement of paternity leave policies and level of involvement with their children is an important step towards developing strategies that aim to involve men in childcare and other efforts to promote gender equality across multiple countries and contexts.

Background

Three theoretical models have guided most research on men's involvement in childcare: the relative resource model, the time availability model, and the gender attitudes model (Coltrane, 2000; Greenstein, 2000). Recently, however, the boundaries among these models have become fuzzy, and many researchers use determinants from all these models to explain the division of caregiving between parenting partners (Hărăguș, 2010). The first two models emphasize rationality in the division of market and non-market work, positioning non-market work as undesirable work, which both women and men try to avoid (Rehel, 2014). The relative resource model posits that a parenting partner who brings more economic resources to the household has greater power that places him/her in a stronger position to negotiate freedom from childcare work. The model argues that because women usually bring fewer economic resources into the negotiation process, they perform a greater proportion of childcare duties. The time availability model suggests that a parenting partner who has more responsibilities in the

labor force and works longer hours is involved in fewer childcare tasks as compared to a partner who spends less time in paid employment and has the most time available.

Considering that as compared to men, women tend to spend less time in paid employment, they perform more childcare responsibilities (Forste & Fox, 2012; Greenstein, 2000; Rehel, 2014).

Results from prior research that has tested these two models of the rational division of labor have been mixed. A number of studies found a significant associations between level of paternal involvement, women's level of income (García-Mainar, Molina & Montuenga, 2011; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Lappegard, 2008; Lappegård, 2012; Naz, 2010; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Sundström & Duvander, 2002) and women's time spent in the labor market (Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; Gaertner, Spinrad, Eisenberg & Greving, 2007; Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Lappegard, 2008; Meteyer & Perry-Jenkins, 2010; Naz, 2010; Reich, 2011; Sundström & Duvander, 2002). On the other hand, a study by Luke, Xu and Thampi (2014) in India found that men who earn less than their spouses were less likely to be involved in caregiving as compared to men who earn more than their spouses. Moreover, some studies document no significant association between women's time spent in the labor market and level of fathers' engagement in caregiving (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999).

The current study is guided by a third theoretical model: the gender attitudes model. In contrast to the two theoretical models just described, the gender attitudes model suggests that division of childcare responsibilities between parenting partners is not necessarily allocated based primarily on who contributes the most resources to the household or who has the most available time to care for the child. Rather, this theory

posits that parents' gender attitudes determine how they divide childcare responsibilities.

Gender attitudes can be defined as a socially constructed script, which shape different behaviors, activities, values, roles, and personality characteristics for women and men. An individual makes decisions and determines his or her own behavior based on their gender attitudes (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Corrigan & Konrad, 2006; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Gaunt, 2006). Gender attitudes range from traditional to egalitarian. The gender attitudes model suggests that traditional gender role attitudes emphasize men's roles as breadwinner and decision maker and women's roles as homemaker and caregiver. In contrast, egalitarian gender attitudes allow less gender-differentiated divisions of labor outside and inside the home, which result in more egalitarian power relations between women and men (Gaunt, 2006; Katz-Wise, Priess & Hyde, 2010; Rogers & Amato, 2000; Trachtenberg, Anderson & Sabatelli, 2009). Available literature suggests that the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare is bidirectional. In some settings, fathers become more involved in childcare because of their egalitarian gender attitudes. Whereas, in other settings, fathers' participation in childcare results in shifting their gender attitudes in an egalitarian direction (Barker, et al., 2012).

According to Bolzendahl and Myers (2004), individuals' gender attitudes are formed and maintained by interest- and exposure-based explanations. Interest-based explanations rely on the assumption that an individual's interests (e.g., personal goals, benefits, prestige, etc.) affect their gender attitudes. In other words, when individuals gain benefits from gender equality, they are more likely to endorse egalitarian gender attitudes. On the contrary, an exposure-based explanation argues that individuals' gender attitudes are

formed by the circumstances, ideas, ideologies, and social norms they have experienced throughout their lives. The exposure operates via three mechanisms: education, personal experience, and socialization. Exposure to egalitarian ideas, social norms, and ideologies shift gender attitudes in an egalitarian direction. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) point out that both interest- and exposure-based explanations play important roles in the formation and maintenance of gender attitudes. Moreover, these explanations interact with each other in a circular fashion. Exposure may result in a reformulation of interest structures, which in turn may lead to further exposure.

The interest- and exposure-explanations have been used to make predictions about what characteristics shift gender attitudes in either egalitarian or traditional directions. For instance, the interest perspective suggests that in comparison to men, women are more likely to embrace gender equality because they gain more benefits than men do from an egalitarian society (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Evidence suggests (Fan & Marini, 2000; Judge & Livingston, 2008; Katenbrink, 2006; Olson, et al., 2007; Phinney & Flores, 2002) that men, in general, are more traditional in their gender attitudes than women.

According to Bolzendahl and Myers (2004), the work status of men has little association to their gender attitudes. However, the interest perspective suggests that when men's spouses work, they experience direct benefits from their spouses' employment and wages. In addition, men with employed spouses recognize that gender discrimination reduces their family income. As a result, these men are likely to hold more egalitarian gender attitudes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Voicu & Tufiş, 2012). Available data from countries with major developed economies as well as countries with emerging and

developing economies (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Ciabattari, 2001; Cunningham, Beutel, Barber & Thornton, 2005; Fan & Marini, 2000; Treas & Widmer, 2000) confirms both hypotheses.

According to exposure explanations, attending formal schooling can affect individuals' gender attitudes via exposure to egalitarian ideas, norms, and attitudes as well as inhibition of acceptance of gender stereotypes and myths (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Numerous studies (Cunningham, et al., 2005; Fan & Marini, 2000; Glick, Lameiras & Castro, 2002; Judge & Livingston, 2008; Katenbrink, 2006; Katz-Wise, et al., 2010; Levtov, Barker, Contreras-Urbina, Heilman & Verma, 2014; Tu & Liao, 2005, Phinney & Flores, 2002; van de Vijver, 2007) conducted in both countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies confirmed the importance of education and found that higher levels of education (especially secondary and higher levels of education) are associated with more egalitarian gender attitudes.

The exposure-based perspective also posits that men of different age groups are socialized differently due to different socio-historical environments (e.g., political, economic, and social), therefore, it is expected that man's age has a significant impact on his gender attitudes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). This hypothesis has been supported by data in a number of studies (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Glick, et al., 2002; Judge & Livingston, 2008; Katenbrink, 2006) in the United States, Spain and Germany.

Lastly, the exposure-based perspective suggests that changing life situations (e.g., entry into co-residential unions like marriages or cohabitations and birth of a child) plays an important role in the construction and re-construction of men's gender attitudes

(Lorenzini & Bassoli, 2015). Evidence from countries with major developed economies and countries with emerging and developing economies in support of this hypothesis is inconsistent. Some research finds that partnership status bears no important association to men's gender attitudes (Cunningham, et al., 2005; Fan & Marini, 2000), whereas other studies find either positive or negative significant results (Barker, et al., 2011; Glick, et al., 2002; Judge & Livingston, 2008; Lucier-Greer & Adler-Baeder, 2011). Men's parental status is similarly inconsistently related to gender attitudes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Fan & Marini, 2000; Glick, et al., 2002; Katenbrink, 2006).

Current study contexts

The countries included in this study were selected based on the limited number of empirical studies related to men's involvement in childcare previously conducted in these countries and a desire for economic, regional, and cultural diversity in attitudes and practices in relation to gender equality and women's empowerment (Table 4.1). The regional location of the selected countries ranges from Southeastern Europe (Croatia), to North America (Mexico), and South Asia (India). They vary widely in terms of socio-economic development and women's status (e.g., women's labor force participation, education, and proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments). For instance, in 2015, Croatia was one of the highest ranked countries in terms of gender equality; the country's Gender Inequality Index score was 0.141, ranking it 31 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016a). Conversely, India was among the lowest ranked countries on the Gender Inequality Index; their score was only 0.530, ranking it 125 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016b). Finally, Mexico was among the middle ranked countries on the Gender Inequality Index with a score of 0.345, ranking it 73 out of 159 countries (UNDP, 2016c).

More detailed information about selected countries is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Socio-economic indicators of Croatia, India, and Mexico			
	Croatia	Mexico	India
Total population (2016) ¹	4,313,707	123,166,749	1,266,883,598
Location ¹	Southeastern Europe	North America	South Asia
At least secondary level of education (2015) ²			
Women	92.0%	56.1%	35.3%
Men	96.0%	59.0%	61.4%
Labor force participation (2015) ²			
Women	46.4%	45.4%	26.8%
Men	58.7%	79.5%	79.1%
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (2015) ²	15.2%	40.6%	12.2%
Gender Inequality Index score out of 159 countries (2015) ²	31	73	125
Country's classification by income ³	High	Upper-middle	Lower-middle

Sources: 1 - CIA, 2016; 2 - UNDP, 2016 a, b, c; 3 - World Bank, 2016, n.d.a.

In Croatia fathers are eligible to the non-compulsory part of maternity leave (can be taken from the 71st day after the child's birth until the child reaches the age of six months) and four months of parental leave (for the first and second child the leave can be taken until the first birthday of a child, whereas, in case of twins as well as the third and every subsequent child, it can be taken until the third birthday of a child) (Dobrotić, 2016). In India, there is no statutory paternity leave, but male government and public-sector employees with fewer than two surviving children are eligible for a 15-day paid paternity leave after birth of a child. In addition, several multinational organizations as well as local private companies offer 3 to 15-day paid paternity leaves for fathers (Barker, et al., 2010; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; United Nations, 2012). Finally, in Mexico fathers are entitled to a statutory 5-day paid paternity leave (Barker, et al., 2010; Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of Mexico, 2012).

Despite these differences, the governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico have made public commitments for achieving the ICPD PoA goals and objectives (UNFPA, n.d.a.; UNFPA, n.d.b.; UNFPA, n.d.c.).

The current research

In this paper, I explore the association between men's gender attitudes and their endorsement of paternity leave policies as a way to begin to understand the determinants that predict men's support of paternity leave policies. This is significant because results of this research can inform the development of more effective policies and advocacy campaigns aimed at increasing men's involvement in childcare and support for paternity leave policies. In addition, among a sub-sample of fathers, I explore the association between men's gender attitudes and their actual involvement in caregiving. Because men who hold more egalitarian gender attitudes are often more willing to take paternity leave and because paternity leave taking increases the likelihood that men will be involved in childcare, I consider whether taking paternity leave mediates the association between men's gender attitudes and involvement in child care.

Overall, in this paper I test the following hypotheses:

H1: Men's gender attitudes are positively correlated with their endorsement of paternity leave policies.

H2: Among fathers, gender attitudes are positively correlated with involvement in caregiving.

H3: Among fathers, paternity leave taking after their child's birth mediates the association between gender attitudes and involvement in caregiving.

Methods

Data

I used data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). IMAGES is considered the most comprehensive random household survey on attitudes and practices of men on a variety of issues, including fatherhood, caregiving, and gender attitudes. Data were collected in Croatia, India, and Mexico among men ages 18 to 59 in 2010. In each country, the survey was carried out by a local research partner in coordination with two globally recognized non-governmental organizations, Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (Barker, et al., 2011; Contreras, et al., 2012; Promundo & ICRW, n.d.).

In Croatia, IMAGES was administered in urban (Zagreb) and rural areas (Osječko-baranjska and Vukovarsko-srijemska counties). The sample was stratified by place of residence and age; the respondents from each stratum were randomly selected. In India, data were collected among men who resided in two metropolitan areas: Delhi and Vijayawada (state of Tamil Nadu). A multistage sampling approach was applied during sample selection. In the first stage, urban wards were selected in each area using the probability proportion to size sampling procedure. During the next stage, Census Enumeration Blocks (CEB) were randomly selected from the selected urban wards. Then, a list of all the eligible respondents who resided in the selected CEB was developed and households were selected for interviewing using systematic random sampling. Lastly, in Mexico, data were collected in three urban areas in different regions of Mexico: Monterrey (north), Querétaro (central), and Xalapa (coastal). First, the researchers randomly selected the primary sample units in the selected areas (each primary sampling

unit was compromised of 80-160 inhabited households). Then, within each primary sample unit, stratified random sampling was applied to select housing units where at least one eligible respondent aged 18 to 59 resided (Barker, et al., 2011; Contreras, et al., 2012).

The IMAGES questionnaire consisted of approximately 250 items. At least 90% of the items in the final questionnaires were common across all countries. The questionnaire was pre-tested in each country. To ensure consistency and comparability of questions across settings, double-back translation of the questionnaires (i.e., translation of the translated questionnaires back into the original language) was conducted (Barker, et al., 2011; Contreras, et al., 2012).

To test my hypotheses, I constructed three separate analytic samples for each country: (1) men without stable partners; (2) men with stable partners; and (3) fathers with stable partners. These separate samples were created because some key control variables for men and fathers with stable partners (e.g., partners' education and employment status) were not asked of men without stable partners. To test hypothesis 1, I assessed the association between gender attitudes and support of paternity leave policies among men with and without stable partners. To test hypotheses 2 and 3, I examined the association between gender attitudes and fathers' involvement in childcare among fathers with stable partners. I did not test Hypotheses 2-3 among fathers without stable partners given that they comprised a very small number of fathers¹⁴ and I was concerned about statistical power. Analytic sample sizes for each sample are presented in Table 4.2.

¹⁴ The total number of fathers without partners Croatia, India, and Mexico was 9, 17, and 6 fathers accordingly.

Table 4.2. Analytic sample sizes for each hypothesis

Country	Hypothesis 1	Hypotheses 2-3
<u>Croatia</u>		
Men without stable partners	394	--
Men with stable partners	1065	---
Fathers with stable partners	--	408
<u>India</u>		
Men without stable partners	446	--
Men with stable partners	581	--
Fathers with stable partners	--	535
<u>Mexico</u>		
Men without stable partners	193	--
Men with stable partners	482	--
Fathers with stable partners	--	370

Measures and specification of variables

Dependent variables

Endorsement of paternity leave policies

Respondents were asked the following: "Do you think paternity leave should be guaranteed by law?" The variable was dichotomized as 1="Yes" vs. 0="No" or "Do not know".

Fathers' involvement in childcare

The variable was constructed from the respondents' answers about their involvement in the daily care of a child. Responses ranged from 1="Always partner" to 5="Always me". This variable was used as a continuous variable with higher values representing greater involvement in caregiving.

Independent variable

Men's gender attitudes were measured using the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale – a validated tool to assess gender norms cross-culturally (C-Change, FHI 360 & USAID, 2011). The scale was developed by Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) and tested with adolescents and youth living in low-income neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Since then, the GEM scale has been used to measure gender attitudes in more than 20 countries including India (Contreras, et al., 2012; Verma, et al., 2006), Ghana, Tanzania (Shattuck, et al., 2013), China (PATH, 2012), Canada (Nelson, Thach & Zhang, 2014), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dušanić & Promundo, 2012), Chile, Mexico, Croatia, Rwanda (Contreras, et al., 2012), Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia (C-Change, et al., 2011), and Bangladesh (Sayem & Nury, 2013).

The gender attitudes variable was constructed based on participants' responses to 14 items that were administered across all three countries (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. GEM Scale items

#	GEM Scale Items
1	A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family
2	Men need sex more than women do
3	Men don't talk about sex, they just do it
4	There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten
5	Changing diapers, giving kids a bath and feeding kids are the mothers' responsibility
6	It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant
7	A man should have the final word about decisions in his home
8	Men are always ready to have sex
9	A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together
10	I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom
11	I would never have a gay friend
12	If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to
13	To be a man, you need to be tough
14	Men should be embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex

Each scale item was scored using a 3-point scale, where 1 = agree, 2 = partially agree,

and 3 = do not agree (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The items were summed and used as a continuous variable. The summed scores ranged from 14 to 42; higher scores represented more egalitarian gender attitudes, whereas lower scores represented traditional gender attitudes. The values of Cronbach's α for each sample are adequate (i.e., >0.7) and presented in a table below.

Table 4.4. Cronbach's α for each sample

	Croatia	India	Mexico
Men without stable partners	0.89	0.78	0.83
Men with stable partners	0.85	0.74	0.76
Fathers with stable partners	0.84	0.72	0.80

Mediator

Fathers' leave taking when their child was born

Fathers were asked "Did you take leave the last time you had a child". This variable was dichotomized as 1=took unpaid and/or paid leave vs. 0=did not take leave.

Control variables

Age was a continuous variable. Men's educational attainment was categorized as no-formal education to primary class V education (reference group), primary to senior secondary education, and beyond senior secondary education. I categorized monthly income as low (reference group), mid-low, mid-high and high using cut-points¹⁵ applied previously by Promundo during analysis of IMAGES data.

Table 4.5. Monthly income cut-points by country

	Country/currency		
	Croatia (Croatian kuna ¹⁶)	India (Indian rupee ¹⁷)	Mexico (Mexican peso ¹⁸)
Low	< 3,000	< 5,000	< 4,000
Mid-low	3,000 - 5,000	5,000 - 7,000	4,000-6,000
Mid-high	5,000 - 7,000	7,000 - 10,000	6,000-8,000
High	> 7,000	> 10,000	> 8,000

Men's employment was dichotomized as employed versus unemployed/retired. Number of children at the time of the interview was a continuous variable. A family's main source of income was defined based on respondents' answer to the question "Who provides the main source of income in your home?" The variable was dichotomized as 1= respondent

¹⁵ Cut-points were defined based on the proportions respondents in each category.

¹⁶ 1 USD ~ 6.28 Croatian kuna

¹⁷ 1 USD ~ 64.20 Indian rupee

¹⁸ 1 USD ~ 17.87 Mexican peso

provided the main source of income and 0=otherwise (i.e. the main source of income is provided by a spouse, government, family assistance, etc.). Finally, the following two variables were included in the models estimated on men or fathers with stable partners. Partners' educational attainment was defined using respondents' answers to the question "Do you and your partner have the same level of education or do you have more schooling or does she have more schooling?". The variable was coded as 1 if the respondent was less educated than parenting partner or both respondent and his partner had the same level of education and 0 if the respondent was more educated than the parenting partner. Partners' employment was dichotomized as employed/student/studying and working versus unemployed/retired/on leave.

Item non-response was an issue on a number of analytic variables (see Table 4.6 for overall percentages of respondents with missing data on analytical variables).

Table 4.6. The percentage of respondents with missing data on any of the analytic variables, by sample

	Hypothesis 1	Hypotheses 2-3
<u>Croatia</u>		
Men without stable partners	15%	--
Men with stable partners	52%	--
Fathers with stable partners	--	44%
<u>India</u>		
Men without stable partners	0%	--
Men with stable partners	0%	--
Fathers with stable partners	--	3%
<u>Mexico</u>		
Men without stable partners	58%	--
Men with stable partners	52%	--
Fathers with stable partners	--	32%

The highest rates of non-response were found in the Croatian and Mexican samples.

Overall, about 52% of men with stable partners in Croatia and Mexico as well as 44% of Croatian fathers and 32% of Mexican fathers had missing data on one or more analytic variables. Moreover, 58% of Mexican men without stable partners had missing data.

Most of the non-response among men with stable partners in both countries occurred on questions about partners' educational attainment and partner's employment. Among men with stable partners, 27% of Croatian men and 31% of Mexican men did not report data about partner's employment and 26% of Croatian men and 31% of Mexican men missed data about partners' educational attainment. In addition, 18% of Croatian men with stable partners and 27% of Croatian fathers had missing data about the family's main source of income. In Mexico much of the item non-response occurred on the monthly income variable. The rates of non-response ranged from 29% among fathers to 37% among men with stable partners and 48% among men without stable partners.

To address issues of item non-response, I imputed missing data using the `mi impute chained` command in Stata which uses chained equations to fill in missing values.

Because analytic samples had different item non-response patterns, I imputed missing data separately for each country and each sample. As recommended by StataCorp (2013) I created a total of 20 imputed data for each country and each sample.

Analysis plan

All analyses were estimated using the STATA software package. First, I generated frequencies and other descriptives by country for all variables to describe the analytic samples as well as to understand the data distribution and find any outliers. For binary and categorical variables, I examined frequencies for each category. For continuous variables, I examined the range and mean. Next, for hypotheses testing I estimated a series of regression models separately for each country.

My first set of analyses focused on the association between gender attitudes and support for paternity leave policies among men, regardless of parenting status

(Hypothesis 1). I estimated two models: an unadjusted logistic regression model (Model 1) and a logistic regression model with controls (Model 2). These models were stratified by partner status. My second set of analyses aimed to understand (1) if men's gender attitudes were associated with their involvement in childcare (Hypothesis 2), and (2) if men's paternity leave taking when a child was born mediated the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare (Hypothesis 3). For testing Hypothesis 2, I estimated the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare after adjustment for controls (Model 1). Model 2 tests Hypothesis 3 by including leave taking to estimate the extent to which leave taking mediated the association between men's gender attitudes and involvement in childcare. Finally, in order to explore if the data missingness had a serious influence on the obtained results I compared the pattern of results for the main hypotheses when estimating models with and without using the mi impute chained command.

Results

Table 4.7 presents characteristics of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican men by partner status. The majority of men in all three countries endorsed paternity leave policies (Croatia - 75% of men without stable partners and 85% of men with stable partners; India - 62% of men without stable partners and 64% with stable partners; Mexico - 69% of men without stable partners and 73% with stable partners). Croatian and Mexican men reported more egalitarian gender attitudes (the mean of gender attitudes among men with and without stable partners was 37). In contrast, Indian men held more traditional gender attitudes (the means of gender attitudes among men with and without stable partners were 25 and 26, respectively).

Table 4.7. Characteristics of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican men by partner status, IMAGES, 2010

Variable	Country					
	Croatia		India		Mexico	
	% or Mean (SE)		% or Mean (SE)		% or Mean (SE)	
	Men without stable partners (n=394)	Men with stable partners (n=1065)	Men without stable partners (n=446)	Men with stable partners (n=581)	Men without stable partners (n=193)	Men with stable partners (n=482)
Endorsement of paternity leave policy						
Yes	75%	85%	62%	64%	69%	73%
No/Do not know	25%	15%	38%	36%	31%	27%
Gender attitudes ¹	37 (0.27)	37 (0.15)	26 (0.25)	25 (0.21)	37 (0.38)	37 (0.20)
Men's educational attainment						
No formal education to primary class V	5%	3%	16%	33%	11%	13%
Primary to senior secondary	66%	58%	33%	38%	23%	23%
Beyond senior secondary	29%	39%	51%	29%	66%	64%
Age	31 (0.52)	39 (0.36)	24 (0.32)	37 (0.40)	29 (0.83)	36 (0.55)
Number of children	0.13 (0.03)	1.02 (0.03)	0.11 (0.03)	1.64 (0.05)	0.42 (0.09)	1.56 (0.07)
Monthly income						
Low	43%	20%	26%	37%	26%	18%
Mid-low	30%	33%	25%	28%	23%	28%
Mid-high	14%	25%	26%	23%	26%	26%
High	13%	21%	24%	14%	25%	28%
Men's employment						
Employed	60%	77%	57%	95%	61%	81%
Unemployed/retired	40%	23%	43%	5%	39%	19%
Partners' educational attainment						

Partner has similar or more education than man		81%		37%		70%
Man is more educated than a spouse		19%		63%		30%
Partners' employment						
Employed / student / studying and working		76%		14%		45%
Unemployed/retired/on leave		24%		86%		55%
Family's main source of income						
Men	44%	61%	35%	92%	25%	57%
Otherwise	56%	39%	65%	8%	75%	43%

¹The range of the scale was from 14 to 42; higher values represented more egalitarian gender attitudes, whereas lower values represented more traditional gender attitudes.

Table 4.8 presents the results of country and partner stratified multivariable regression analyses predicting men's endorsement of paternity leave policies by gender attitudes. Among men without stable partners, more egalitarian gender attitudes were associated with higher odds of paternity leave endorsement only in Croatia (OR=1.10) and India (OR=1.09). Whereas, among men with stable partners in all three countries more egalitarian gender attitudes were associated with higher odds of paternity leave endorsement (OR=1.06 in India, $p \leq 0.01$; OR=1.08 in Croatia, $p \leq 0.001$; OR=1.10 in Mexico, $p \leq 0.001$).

Table 4.9 presents characteristics of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican fathers with stable partners. The proportion of fathers who took leave when their last child was born ranged from 43% in Croatia to 67% in Mexico and 68% in India. The rate of fathers' participation in childcare also varied across countries. The proportion of fathers, who reported that they equally share daily childcare with their partner, ranged from 28% in India to 44% in Mexico and 60% in Croatia. Similar to when all Indian men with stable partners were analyzed, fathers from India reported more inequitable gender attitudes (the mean of gender attitudes was 26). Whereas, Croatian and Mexican fathers reported more equitable gender attitudes (mean of gender attitudes was 37 in both countries).

Estimates from the linear regression models predicting fathers' involvement in childcare by gender attitudes is presented in Table 4.10. In Model 1, only Croatian fathers' egalitarian gender attitudes were associated with a higher level of childcare involvement ($b=0.03$, $SE=0.01$, $p \leq 0.001$). In Model 2, fathers' leave taking when their child was born was not significantly associated with their involvement in child care in any of the countries; thus, it could not serve as a mediator in our models.

Table 4.8. Estimates from the logistic regression models predicting men's endorsement of paternity leave policies by gender attitudes

[illegible]

attainment

Man is more
educated than
a spouse (ref.)

Partner has
similar or
more
education than
man

**Partners'
employment**

Employed/stud
ent/studying
and working
(ref.)

Unemployed/r
etired/on leave

**Family's main
source of
income**

Otherwise
(ref.)

Men	1.37	0.69, 2.73	1.11	0.68, 1.80	1.05	0.58, 1.89	2.20*	1.05, 4.62	2.26	0.72, 7.05	1.52	0.81, 2.86
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Notes: *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01; ***p≤0.001.

Table 4.9. Characteristics of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican fathers with stable partners, IMAGES, 2010

Variable	Country		
	Croatia % or Mean (SE) (n=408)	India % or Mean (SE) (n=535)	Mexico % or Mean (SE) (n=370)
Men's leave taking when their child was born			
Yes	43%	68%	67%
No	57%	32%	33%
Men's involvement in childcare ¹	2.61 (0.03)	2.28 (0.04)	2.39 (0.03)
Gender attitudes ²	37 (0.24)	26 (0.21)	37 (0.25)
Men's educational attainment			
No formal education to primary class V	4%	21%	15%
Primary to senior secondary	56%	37%	32%
Beyond senior secondary	40%	41%	53%
Age	45 (0.45)	38 (0.37)	40 (0.51)
Number of children	1.93 (0.04)	2.00 (0.04)	2.48 (0.06)
Monthly income			
Low	11%	25%	13%
Mid-low	32%	23%	28%
Mid-high	30%	23%	28%
High	27%	29%	31%
Men's employment			
Employed	84%	98%	95%
Unemployed/retired	16%	2%	5%
Partners' educational attainment			
Partner has similar or more education than men	78%	38%	66%
Man is more educated than a spouse	22%	62%	34%
Partners' employment			
Employed / student / studying and working	77%	8%	35%
Unemployed/retired/on leave	23%	92%	65%
Family's main source of income			
Men	75%	95%	77%
Otherwise	25%	5%	23%

¹ Responses ranged from 1 to 5 and higher values represented greater involvement in caregiving.

²The range of the scale was from 14 to 42; higher values represented more egalitarian gender attitudes, whereas lower values represented more traditional gender attitudes.

Table 4.10. Estimates from the regression models predicting involvement in childcare of fathers with stable partners by gender attitudes and the mediated effect of fathers' leave taking

Variable	Croatia (n=408)				India (n=535)				Mexico (n=370)			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Intercept	1.10	0.32	1.08	0.32	2.33	0.38	2.31	0.38	2.29	0.35	2.30	0.35
Gender attitudes	0.03***	0.01	0.03***	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Men's educational attainment												
No formal education to primary class V (ref.)												
Primary to senior secondary	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.09	0.12	0.09	0.12	0.02	0.11	0.02	0.11
Beyond senior secondary	0.19	0.16	0.21	0.16	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.14	-0.09	0.12	-0.09	0.12
Age	0.01*	0.00	0.01*	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Number of children	-0.13***	0.03	-0.13***	0.03	-0.03	0.05	-0.03	0.05	-0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.03
Monthly income												
Low (ref.)												
Mid-low	0.06	0.10	0.06	0.10	-0.11	0.12	-0.11	0.12	-0.08	0.12	-0.08	0.12
Mid-high	-0.04	0.11	-0.04	0.11	-0.16	0.13	-0.16	0.13	0.04	0.12	0.04	0.12
High	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.11	-0.18	0.13	-0.19	0.13	-0.02	0.14	-0.01	0.14
Men's employment												
Employed (ref.)												
Unemployed/retired	0.22*	0.10	0.22*	0.10	0.12	0.32	0.11	0.32	0.21	0.16	0.21	0.16
Partners' educational attainment												
Man is more educated than a spouse (ref.)												
Partner has similar or more education than man	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.09	0.03	0.09	-0.00	0.08	-0.00	0.08

Partners' employment

Employed/student/studying and working (ref.)

Unemployed/retired/on leave	-0.19**	0.07	-0.19**	0.07	-0.48***	0.15	-0.49***	0.15	-0.27**	0.08	-0.27**	0.08
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Family's main source of income

Otherwise (ref.)

Men	0.05	0.09	0.05	0.09	-0.01	0.21	-0.01	0.21	-0.15	0.10	-0.15	0.10
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Fathers' leave taking when their child was born

Notes: *p≤0.05; **p≤0.01; ***p≤0.001.

Thus, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed in two (Croatia and India) of the three countries among men without stable partners and it was confirmed in all countries among men with stable partners. At the same time, Hypothesis 2 was confirmed in only one of three countries (Croatia) and Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed in any of the countries studied.

Results of models without using the mi impute chained command

In order to explore if the data missingness had a serious influence on the obtained results I compared the pattern of results for the main hypotheses when estimating models with and without using the mi impute chained command. The patterns and interpretations of results were the same except for the Hypothesis 1 result for Mexican men with stable partners. The association between men's gender attitudes and endorsement of paternity leave policy became marginally non-significant (OR=1.07, $p=0.067$), likely due to the decrease in statistical power.

Endorsement of paternity leave policies by respondents' age group

In order to explore if the association between men's gender attitudes and paternity leave policy endorsement varies in different age groups I conducted supplemental age-stratified analysis. Men were divided into two groups: (1) 18-24 years and (2) 25 years and older. The obtained results were mostly not significant, except for the sample of Croatian men with stable partners. In this group respondents aged 25 years and older were more likely to endorse paternity leave policies as compared to their counterparts aged 24 years and younger (OR=0.53, 95% CI=0.30, 0.91, $p\leq 0.05$).

Discussion

The present research aimed to examine variations in men's perceptions about paternity leave policies and determinants of fathers' involvement in childcare in the

context of Croatia, India, and Mexico using the IMAGES data collected in these three countries. I found a number of significant results as well as some unexpected non-significant results.

I hypothesized that men's gender attitudes would be positively correlated with their endorsement of paternity leave policies. I found that, consistent with previous research (Grover, 1991; Haas, 1992), men with egalitarian gender attitudes had higher odds of paternity leave policy endorsement than their counterparts with traditional gender attitudes in Croatia and India, regardless of partner status; in Mexico, I found this association only among men with stable partners. The association between men's gender attitudes and paternity leave policy endorsement among Mexican men without stable partners was also positive, but not significant.

I also hypothesized that fathers' gender attitudes would be positively correlated with their involvement in childcare. I found support for my hypothesis only in Croatia. Although research suggests that fathers who hold egalitarian gender attitudes are more likely to be involved in childcare than fathers who hold traditional gender attitudes (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; Haas & Hwang, 2008; Hewitt, Baxter & Micklejohn, 2012; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010), counter to my hypothesis, findings from India and Mexico were not statistically significant. The observed inconsistencies might be due to the following reasons. First, family living arrangements in the Croatian context differs when compared to Mexico and India. For instance, in India at least half of the children live with adults besides their parents (e.g., grandparents, cousins, etc.) and in Mexico more than 40% of children live in extended families (Lippman & Wilcox, 2013). In such families, grandmothers or other

female relatives may be available to provide care for children. Therefore, even fathers with more egalitarian attitudes might be less involved in childcare because more experienced relatives are available to help with childcare.

Second, there might be other significant factors which determine the level of paternal involvement that I was unable to directly examine. For instance, evidence suggests that the level of paternal involvement is affected by maternal gatekeeping (behaviors and beliefs of mothers, which regulate involvement of fathers in domestic work and childcare) (Fagan & Barnett, 2003; Kulik & Sadeh, 2015; Meteyer & Perry-Jenkins, 2010; Pinto & Coltrane, 2009). A study by Kulik and Sadeh (2015) conducted in Israel found that maternal gatekeeping was the most significant contributor to explain involvement of fathers in four out of the five domains of childcare including physical care, playing games, showing love, and childcare provision in the situation of distress. Moreover, available research acknowledges the importance of maternal gatekeeping for Mexican and Indian families. For example, a study in India found notable resistance from women toward increasing involvement of men in caregiving, because it may be considered as "their failure as women, mothers and daughters" (Levtov, van der Gaag, Greene, Kaufman & Barker, 2015, p. 90). Maternal gatekeeping was also associated with less housework by men in Mexican families (Pinto & Coltrane, 2009).

My third hypothesis was that fathers' paternity leave taking after their child's birth would mediate the association between their gender attitudes and paternal involvement. I found no support for my mediation hypothesis. A possible explanation for this null result might lie in the length of taken paternity leave, which I was unable to directly examine. Evidence suggests that longer leave taken by fathers in case of birth of a child fosters

their greater involvement childcare in terms of the amount of time devoted daily to children and frequency of involvement in childcare (Meil, 2013; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007). According to the global fatherhood campaign MenCare (n.d.) for development of lifelong patterns of equality in childcare the length of a leave in case birth of a child for each parent should be at least 16 weeks. There was no leave entitlements for fathers during IMAGES data collection in India and Mexico. Moreover, in Croatia, a non-transferable individual right for two-month parental leave for fathers was introduced only in 2014. Therefore, it is likely that the majority of fathers in this research took paternity leave for a much briefer time period and it is possible that short leave might have limited or no impact on fathers' subsequent involvement caregiving.

In addition, the sample in this study was more heterogeneous as compared to the previous studies, which explored the effects of fathers' leave taking on their subsequent involvement with children. For instance, research by Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel (2007) as well as Tanaka and Waldfogel (2007) constrained their analytical sample to fathers who were employed both prior of child's birth and at the moment of survey as well as whose children's age was less than 12 months. Although, I had an extensive set of control variables related to the father, parenting partner and child, other significant factors, which I was unable directly examine (e.g., fathers' employment at the moment of child's birth or children's age) might play significant roles for paternal involvement among the studied in this research diverse group of fathers.

Finally, although not the focus of this study, I explored how some of the factors (e.g., parenting partners' employment and economic recourses) described by the relative resource model and the time availability model shape patterns of division of childcare

responsibilities in Croatia, India, and Mexico. Results of this research did not support the relative resource model argument that a parenting partner who contributes fewer economic resources to the household perform a greater proportion of childcare duties. However, consistent with the results of available research (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Garcia & Oliveira, 2005; Gaertner, et al., 2007; Meteyer & Perry-Jenkins, 2010; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Sriram, 2011), I found that fathers are less involved in childcare responsibilities when their parenting partners are unemployed/retired. This result provides evidence for the time availability model argument that parenting partners' responsibilities outside of the house create demands on family life that require fathers to adjust their care time and assume more childcare responsibilities.

Research implications

The results of the present research have implications for policymakers, educators, and professionals who are seeking ways to address gender disparities in unpaid care work and promote importance of paternity leave policies. There is a need for interventions to address existed gender stereotypes and rigid norms. Available literature suggests that group education, school-based interventions, community outreach, and mass media campaigns are effective approaches for changing inequitable gender attitudes and norms (WHO, 2007). Therefore, these types of intervention activities should to be implemented in Croatia, India, and Mexico. Doherty and his colleagues (1998) pointed out that "[f]ather-child relations...are... multilateral, requiring a threshold of support from inside the family and from the larger environment. Undermining from the mother or from a social institution or system may induce many fathers to retreat from responsible fathering" (p. 287). Therefore, the target populations of these intervention activities

should include not only fathers and mothers but also family and community members, employers, and faith, community, and traditional leaders. Furthermore, in Croatia and Mexico, where fathers are entitled to the paid leave in case of birth of a child, public education is needed to increase awareness among the general public about this policy's benefits and to encourage fathers to put this policy into practice.

Beyond paternity leave, governments should consider other policies that would reduce fathers' time in paid activities and increase paternal involvement, such as, income support policies and tax policies (e.g. provision of tax breaks and financial benefits). In addition, policies aimed at increasing a population's access to piped water, home electricity, public transportation, and fuel may result in a reduction in women's domestic workload and free up women's time for acquiring education and participating in the labor market (Gender & Development Network, 2017). Finally, the exclusion of unpaid care work from macroeconomic policy documents and macroeconomic indicators, including Gross Domestic Product (GDP), biases economic planning and reinforces the undervaluation of women's unpaid care work (UNWOMEN, 2015). Therefore, governments of all studied countries should measure and value unpaid care work during calculation of macroeconomic indicators and formulation of macroeconomic policy documents.

Limitations and future research directions

The following limitations should be acknowledged. First, IMAGES collected data only from men who resided in selected areas of Croatia, India, and Mexico. Moreover, for Hypotheses 2 and 3, I analyzed data collected among fathers with stable partners only. Therefore, findings and conclusions of this research are not necessarily transferable to

other settings of Croatia, India, and Mexico and not generalizable to all men from these countries.

Another limitation of this research is the measurement of fathers' involvement in childcare. Taking into consideration Palkovitz's conceptual framework on parental involvement (1997), the present study examined only the behavioral domain of paternal involvement (i.e. observable manifestations of paternal involvement). Thus, results and conclusions of this study may not be applicable to the cognitive and affective domains of fathering (e.g., providing of emotional support, affective involvement with children).

Third, due to the cross-sectional study design it is impossible to determine the direction of causality of the relationship among countries' economic development, female labor force participation, men's gender attitudes, and paternal involvement. The use of panel data would mitigate this problem; however, such data is not currently available.

Another possible limitation is that the proportion of employed fathers in the sample was higher than in the general male population in each of the respective countries. According to World Bank (n.d.) in 2010 the labor force participation of men in Croatia, India, and Mexico was 59%, 81%, and 81% accordingly. Whereas, in the current study, the proportion of employed fathers in Croatia, India, and Mexico is 84%, 98%, and 95%, respectively. Because research finds that employed men are less engaged in caregiving (Hewitt, et al., 2012; ICRW & Promundo, 2011; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010), this could bias our sample toward fathers who may be less involved in childcare.

Finally, the IMAGES study relies on self-reported data, which is prone to social desirability bias. The rates of fathers' self-reported participation in daily childcare in

Croatia, India, and Mexico appears higher than what one might expect given reports of female partners. For example, according to IMAGES estimates from the female sample, the proportion of mothers who reported that their male partners participated in daily childcare was only 17% in Croatia, 18% in India, and 31% in Mexico (Barker, et al., 2011). Therefore, the estimates of paternal involvement are likely upwardly biased and the relationship between fathers' gender attitudes and involvement in childcare may be overestimated.

Despite these limitations, the findings of this research provide a strong foundation for building future studies related to men's endorsement of paternity leave policies and paternal involvement in childcare. Future research should develop deeper understanding of fatherhood experiences in the context of Croatia, India, and Mexico by (1) application of additional measures of fathers' involvement in childcare (e.g., observations and interviewing of parenting partners and children) which can help to assess the accuracy of fathers' self-reported data and confirm the validity of research findings; (2) exploration of factors which predict cognitive and affective domains of fathering; (3) examination of major determinants of paternal involvement among more diverse and nationally representative groups of men including separated fathers, divorced fathers, widowed fathers, step-fathers, and others.

The results of this research confirm the associations between men's egalitarian gender attitudes and their paternity leave policy endorsement as well as their paternal practices. These findings affirm that the deconstruction of existing gender stereotypes and rigid social norms is one of the important means for promoting equitable caregiving and positive parenting. Therefore, future research should explore which messages are more

likely to promote egalitarian gender attitudes among community members. In addition, the applied in this research GEM scale focused on the certain domains within the construct of gender norms (e.g., sexual and reproductive health, intimate relationships, masculinity, and sexuality). However, other domains (e.g., attitudes toward women, sexism) may matter with regard to gender equality promotion. In order to better understand the complex notion of gender norms these domains should be explored in the future research.

Finally, there is a need to explore other mechanisms which may help to explain the association between men's gender attitudes and their involvement in childcare. One of the significant factors may be men's beliefs about appropriate fathering behaviors. Previous research found significant associations between men's gender attitudes and father role construction (Booney, Kelley & Levant, 1999) as well as father role construction and paternal involvement (Freeman, Newland & Coyl, 2008). A link between involvement of fathers in caregiving and their experiences of being fathered should be also acknowledged. Evidence shows that fathers, who were growing up in families, where they received high level of fathering during childhood, tend to be more engaged in caregiving of their children (Goldberg, et al., 2002; Ishii-Kuntz, 2012; Juhari et al., 2013; Levto, et al., 2014; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Sriram, 2011a). Moreover, according to available literature, men, who received high level of fathering during childhood tend to endorse more egalitarian gender attitudes (Levtov, et al., 2014). To the best of my knowledge previous research has considered neither father role construction nor men's experiences of being fathered as mediators of the connection between men's gender

attitudes and their involvement in childcare; this may be fruitful areas for future fathering research.

Conclusions

The ICPD PoA was ratified more than twenty years ago, however, results of this research suggest that although some fathers assume more childcare responsibilities than decades earlier, uptake is taking place at an incredibly slow rate. Results of this study confirm the apparent need for accelerating efforts to address gender disparities in child caregiving and to promote benefits of paternity leave policies in Croatia, India, and Mexico. These efforts not only contribute to the creation of specific conditions and settings so that fathers and mothers can assume parenting responsibilities on a more equal basis, but also to promote the health and well-being of children and their parents.

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4.2 Manuscript II: Increasing men's involvement in responsible parenthood:

National policy in Croatia, India, and Mexico¹⁹

Abstract

Since 1994, with ratification of the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action (ICPD PoA), the importance of promoting men's participation in childcare has been recognized as an international priority. This study documents national policy efforts undertaken from 1995 through 2014 to increase men's participation in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico, which were chosen for their diverse policy approaches. We identified 33 policy documents and evaluated whether they included statements of intent and/or types of action related to promoting men's involvement in childcare. Results demonstrate that paternal involvement was referenced in the majority of policy documents (27 of 33); while over half of the documents from Croatia (9 of 11 documents) had the potential to affect men's involvement in childcare, most policy documents from Mexico (9 of 13) and India (7 of 9) included only a statement of intent or had no reference to paternal involvement and, thus, had little potential to affect men's participation in childcare. Results suggest that concrete policy efforts that focus both on intent and action will have to be developed in India and Mexico to effectively promote men's involvement in childcare in these countries.

Introduction

In September 1994, representatives of governments, intergovernmental organizations, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations met in Cairo, Egypt at the

¹⁹ Salima Kasymova, Katrina Walsemann, James Thrasher, Gary Barker & Deborah Billings. Submitted to *Community, Work & Family*.

International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) to discuss and come to consensus on a new approach to address problems related to population and development. At the conclusion of the conference, 179 countries adopted the 20-year ICPD Programme of Action (PoA) (UNFPA, n.d.a.), which focuses on addressing the needs, aspirations, and rights of women and men through sustainable development, health, education, equality, and women's empowerment. The wide range of actions highlighted in the PoA included special efforts that 'emphasize men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood' (Male responsibilities and participation section, para. 4.27) (United Nations, 1995a). Subsequently, the importance of men's involvement in unpaid work, including childcare, was emphasized in other globally recognized agreements, such as the Beijing Platform for Action (UNWOMEN, n.d.a.), the World Summit for Social Development Programme of Action (United Nations, 1995b), and, most recently, the 2015 United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, n.d.).

Support for policy and programmatic efforts to promote men's involvement in childcare is based on a range of studies that indicate its positive impact on children, mothers, and parenting adults. With the increasing involvement of both biological and non-biological fathers in childcare, children experience more favorable health outcomes including lower rates of infant mortality (Tanaka, 2005) and better physical and mental health (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, Horowitz, & Kinukawa, 2008; Dex & Ward, 2007). Other benefits include fathers' longevity (Månsdotter, Lindholm, & Winkvist, 2007; Månsdotter & Lundin, 2010), fathers' life satisfaction (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001), fathers' reduced rates of sickness-related work absences (Bratberg & Naz, 2009;

Månsdotter et al, 2007), improved rates of mothers' labor force attachment (Fatherhood Institute, Promundo, Bernard van Leer Foundation & MenCare, 2012), and less gendered division of household responsibilities (Baxter, 2000; Drago, 2011).

In order to increase paternal involvement, governments of many countries have adopted diverse policy approaches. Policy efforts to reconcile gender equality, especially in terms of work, family, and childcare, are assumed to increase men's involvement in childcare (Gornick, 2012). In the short term, these policy efforts should provide parents with options to equalize their allocation of time between the labor market and caregiving. In the long term, they can transform the gendered divisions of paid labor and unpaid child caregiving by shaping social constructions of parenthood and determining what is considered 'normal' gender responsibilities and 'good parenting' (Gornick, 2012; Rostgaard, 2002).

Numerous investigations have examined national policy efforts that have the goal of promoting men's involvement in childcare (Baird & O'Brien, 2015; Dearing, 2016; Earle, Mokomane & Heymann, 2011; Haas & Rostgaard, 2011; Lin & Rantalaaho, 2003; O'Brien, 2009; Ray, Gornick & Schmitt, 2009; Waldfogel, 2001; Wüst, 2009). However, research has focused almost exclusively on countries with major developed economies and data from other parts of the world are extremely limited (Beardshaw, 2006; Richter, et al., 2011). There is a great need for research in all regions of the world, given significant cultural, historical, and socioeconomic differences in how patriarchy is expressed. It is particularly important to understand how these processes unfold in countries where paternal involvement policy efforts are almost non-existent.

Symbolic and material policy typology

In our study, we applied the symbolic and material policy typology (Howlett, 2000; Hood, 1986) to characterize policy documents aimed at promoting men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. This typology has been used to analyze policy documents relevant to other health-related outcomes, including postpartum depression and obesity prevention (Place, et al., 2015; Shroff, Jones, Frongillo & Howlett, 2012). According to Anderson (2000), application of symbolic and material policy typology ‘directs our attention beyond [the] formal policy statement’ (p. 15) by postulating that policy documents can be classified as either symbolic or material depending on the benefits they allocate to their target populations. Symbolic policies include statements of intent for social betterment (e.g., empower families for shared parenting) without outlining any specific actions. These policies bring attention to an issue and may influence other policies; however, they have little material impact on their beneficiaries and do not necessarily lead to implementation of any interventions or changes in societal conditions or behaviors. Material policies, in contrast, provide tangible resources, material benefits, and substantive power to their beneficiaries. These policies result in actual implementation of relevant interventions that have the potential to change societal conditions (Anderson, 2000; Anderson, 2010; Birkland, 2005; Howlett, 2000; Place, et al., 2015).

Types of policy documents

We analyzed several types of national policy documents related to paternal involvement, including (1) laws/acts, (2) policies, (3) plans, and (4) programs. In India and Mexico, a bill must be approved by both Chambers of government and subsequently signed by the president in order to be adopted as law (Federal Research Division of the

Library of Congress, n.d.; Parliament of India, n.d.). In Croatia, a bill must be approved by the House of Representatives and the president, after which it is adopted as law (Voncina, et al., 2006).

A national policy includes a government's decisions and actions that are to be undertaken in order to address a matter of concern and achieve specific goals within a society. The policy also outlines priorities and the roles and responsibilities of different groups (Anderson, 2000; WHO, n.d.). Depending on a policy's matter of concern, a relevant statutory body of the government drafts the policy. For instance, gender equality policy documents are developed under the auspices of the Gender Equality Commission in Croatia (founded in 1996), the National Women's Institute in Mexico (founded in 2001), and the Ministry of Women and Child Development in India (founded in 2006).

Finally, a national plan is defined as a 'roadmap' that sets national goals and objectives for the country. The plan determines strategic frameworks as well as roles and responsibilities of different sectors and stakeholders for accomplishing the established goals and objectives (UNPEI, n.d.). In India, the Government carries out the planning process through Five-Year Plans. Similarly, in Mexico new political administrations launch a National Development Plan every six years (the length of a presidential administration). Based on these Plans, each governmental sector creates a program or a plan of action that outlines a set of specific strategies and activities to accomplish the Plan's goals and objectives.

Current study context and aims

We conducted a qualitative content analysis of policy documents directed at men's involvement in childcare, which were adopted in Croatia, India, and Mexico from 1995 to

2014. The countries included in this study were purposefully selected due to the limited number of empirical studies related to men's involvement in childcare previously conducted in these countries and a desire to capture lessons learned from a range of contexts. The selected countries contrast on a number of key characteristics, including economic development and women's position in society, as reflected by their education, employment, and political participation (see Table 4.11). They are similar in that Croatia, India, and Mexico were among 179 UN Member States that signed the ICPD PoA in 1994 and the governments of these countries have made public commitments to achieve the ICPD PoA goals and objectives (UNFPA, n.d.b.; UNFPA, n.d.c.; UNFPA, n.d.d.).

Table 4.11. Socio-economic indicators of Croatia, India, and Mexico

	Croatia	Mexico	India
Total population in 2016 ¹	4.3	123.2	1,266.9
Region ¹	Southeastern Europe	North America	South Asia
Economic Development ²	High	Upper-middle	Lower-middle
≥ Secondary education in 2015 ³			
Women	92.0%	56.1%	35.3%
Men	96.0%	59.0%	61.4%
Labor force participation in 2015 ³			
Women	46.4%	45.4%	26.8%
Men	58.7%	79.5%	79.1%
Seats in national parliaments held by women in 2015 ³	15.2%	40.6%	12.2%
Gender Inequality Index in 2015 ³ (159 countries)	31	73	125

Sources: 1 - CIA, 2016, in millions; 2 - World Bank, n.d.a., 2016; 3 - UNDP, 2016a, b, c

The current study answered two questions: (1) Is the promotion of men's involvement in childcare addressed in the national policy documents of Croatia, India, and Mexico? If so, (2) are policy documents substantially more symbolic in their content, rather than material, thereby offering only limited support to efforts that promote men's involvement in childcare?

Methods

Sample

From May to October 2015, we searched for national policy documents from Croatia, India, and Mexico using the following strategies: (1) a Google search using the keywords: ‘policy’, ‘gender’, ‘children’, ‘Croatia’, ‘India’, and ‘Mexico’; (2) a focused internet search of online resources of government institutions (e.g., National Women's Institute of Mexico, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare of India, Office of the Ombudsman for Children of Croatia, etc.) in each country; and (3) a review of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), State reports from Croatia, India, and Mexico, and CEDAW Shadow reports (Justice for our Daughters, Center for Women's Human Rights & Mukira AC, 2012; National Alliance of Women, 2006; Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 2014). We also asked experts from Croatia, India, and Mexico familiar with national efforts to promote paternal involvement, to suggest relevant policy documents to retain for analysis (among those we had already identified) and to identify relevant policy documents we missed in our initial search. Once we became aware of a policy document, the Google search engine was used to find and retrieve the document. When we were not able to find a policy document, the first author contacted the relevant ministry/government institution and requested the document.

Inclusion and exclusion of policy documents

Inclusion criteria included: ratified or modified by the Governments/Parliaments of Croatia, India, and Mexico between 1995 and 2014. This 20-year time period was selected because it coincides with the timeframe of adoption and implementation of the

ICPD Programme of Action. We excluded state, local, and workplace / organizational policies.

We evaluated all identified policy documents for inclusion in three phases (see Figure 4.1). In the first phase, we reviewed all identified documents to confirm that they were national policy documents that were ratified or modified between 1995 and 2014. In the second phase, we searched the text of each policy document to retrieve text that included keywords relevant to this study.

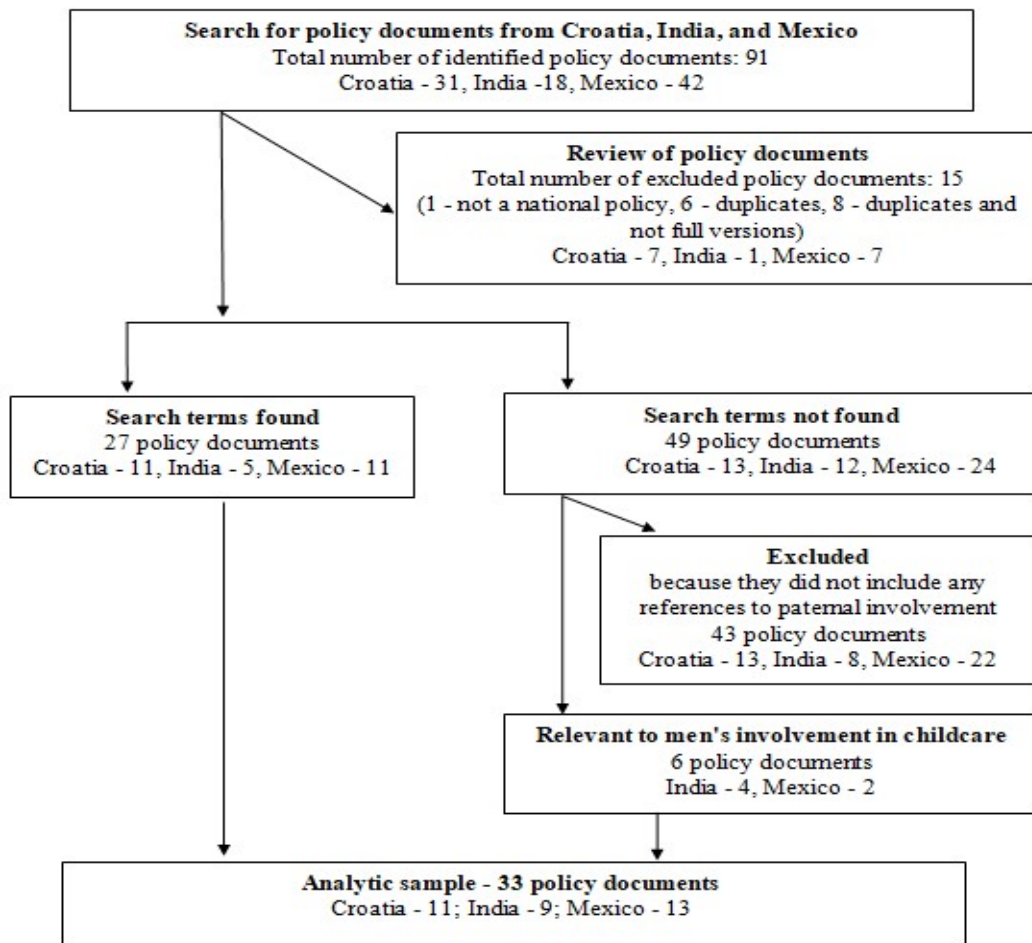


Figure 4.1. The selection process of policy documents

Table 4.12 outlines the keywords used for the text review. All policy documents that included any references to paternal involvement were retained for analysis.

Table 4.12. Keywords used in textual analysis of policy documents

English*	Croatian	Spanish
Father	Otac	Padre
Fathers	Očevi	Padres
Fatherhood	Očinstvo	Paternidad
Man, male	Muškarac	Hombre
Men, males	Muškarci	Hombres
Child	Dijete	Niño, niña, hijo, hija, infante
Children	Djeca	Niños, niñas, hijos, hijas, infantes
Care	Briga, skrb	Cuidado
Paternity	Roditeljstvo	Paternidad
Leave	Dopust	Permiso, licencia

*The Constitution of India designates English as one of the official languages of the Government of India

Finally, in the third phase we identified the policy documents to be retained for analysis. Some documents were retained precisely because they did not contain keywords or referencing paternal involvement while being explicitly relevant to issues of men's involvement in childcare. Because provision of leave for men upon a child's birth promotes their involvement in childcare (UNWOMEN, n.d.a.; OECD, 2011), we included all identified policy documents that outlined parents' leave entitlements. We also retained those policy documents that were guided by the globally recognized conventions/agreements emphasizing the importance of involvement of men in childcare (e.g., ICPD PoA, CEDAW, Beijing Platform for Action, Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)) (United Nations, n.d.; United Nations Human Rights, 1989; UNWOMEN, n.d.a.; UNWOMEN, n.d.b.).

Analysis

First, we categorized policy documents by type: that is, whether it was a law/act, policy, national plan, or national program. Next, we applied a directed approach to the content analysis and categorized policy documents based on symbolic and material policy typology. Policy documents that included statements of intent tied to specific actions or included specific actions for the promotion of paternal involvement in childcare were

coded as material. Policy documents where paternal involvement was mentioned without any special implementation actions were coded as symbolic. Furthermore, policy documents where paternal involvement was not addressed at all, despite the document's relevance to the promotion of men's involvement in childcare were coded as neither material nor symbolic.

Findings

Overall, 91 policy documents were initially identified for potential inclusion in our analysis. Of those, 15 documents were excluded (one document was not a national policy, six documents were duplicates, and eight documents were duplicates and not full versions of the policy documents). Subsequently, the text of the remaining 76 policy documents was searched to retrieve sentences that included the keywords; 49 documents did not include any references to paternal involvement. Of these 49 policy documents, six were nevertheless considered relevant to paternal involvement. These six policy documents included: the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women of India, the 9th Five-Year Plan of India, the 11th Five-Year Plan of India, the Maternity Benefit Act of India, and the Federal Labor Law of Mexico (1998 and 2006 versions). After exclusions, 33 policy documents were included in the final analysis (Croatia – 11, India - 9, and Mexico - 13). More detailed information is presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13. Policy documents by type of policy and typology

	Croatia (n=11)	India (n=9)	Mexico (n=13)	Total (n=33)
<u>Type of Policy Document</u>				
Act/Law	6	1	6	13
National policy	5	3	--	8
National plan	--	5	2	7
National program	--	--	5	5
<u>Typology</u>				

Material	9	2	4	15
Symbolic	2	3	7	12
Neither material nor symbolic	--	4	2	6

Results by Country

Croatia

Eleven national policy documents from Croatia met the study's inclusion criteria and references to paternal involvement were included in sections related to labor force participation of women as well as work and family life reconciliation.

Material policies. Most policy documents (9 out of 11) included either a statement of intent tied to actions or actions only related to paternal involvement. In addition, two of these documents (National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality (2006-2010) and National Population Policy (2006)) outlined implementing authorities and timeframes for implementation of the indicated actions. Promotion of paternal involvement in the identified policy documents was mostly done via implementation of maternity/parental leave policies and special actions to encourage fathers to exercise their leave rights upon their child's birth.

Information about parental entitlements in the case of a child's birth were outlined in the 1995, 2004, 2009, and 2014 versions of the Labor Act, as well as the Maternity and Parental Benefits Act, ratified in 2008 and updated in 2014. According to these Acts, mothers and fathers are entitled to State-paid maternity leave, which is available until the child is six months of age (Labor Act, 1995, 2004 and Maternity and Parental Benefits Act, 2008, 2014). Starting from 2008, after maternity leave, both parents were entitled to the State-paid parental leave (Maternity and Parental Benefits Act, 2008).

Outlined measures to encourage fathers to take advantage of maternity/parental leave policies included: provision of State financial support; specification of the amount of time

fathers could take off to care for child (e.g., after the father takes leave for at least three months, he could take 2 additional months of leave, c.f. Labor Act, 2004 and Maternity and Parental Benefit Act, 2008); flexible leave options (e.g., parents could take leave fully, partially, and part-time, c.f., Maternity and Parental Benefit Act, 2008, 2014); and identification of a non-transferable individual right for leave (e.g., only 2 out of 4 months of the parental leave could be transferred from one parent to the other, c.f. Maternity and Parental Benefit Act, 2014). Considering the importance of employers' support for maternity/parental leave, all versions of Acts stated that not permitting a parent to take his parental leave or dismissing the parent from work because he exercised his parental leave rights were considered grave violations. In such situations, a fine would be imposed on the employer.

Two of the reviewed policy documents included statements of intent tied to actions. The first document was the 2006 National Population Policy (NPP), which outlined statements of intent and a series of actions for introducing special measures to encourage men to exercise their parental leave rights (e.g., flexible use of parental leave and flexible work arrangements for parents). In addition, the NPP outlined intent to implement media campaigns that would inform parents about their leave entitlements and encourage fathers to take parental leave. The second document, the National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality (2006-2010), emphasized the importance of increasing the number of fathers who exercise their right to parental leave and outlined action to achieve it (i.e., implementation of media campaigns to promote equal sharing of domestic and childcare responsibilities and encourage fathers to take parental leave).

Finally, the National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality for the period from 2001 to 2005 included references to paternal involvement. Although the document did not include an explicit statement of intent to improve paternal involvement with their children, the Policy did include specific actions related to equal parenting responsibilities. For instance, the Policy proposed organization of media activities and exhibitions to promote sharing of parenting and household duties and responsibilities between women and men.

Symbolic policies. Only two of the policy documents included statements of intent without providing any specifics on how these intended outcomes would be achieved. The first symbolic policy document was the National Policy of the Republic of Croatia for Promotion of Equality (1997-2000), which stated that in order to encourage fathers to take maternity leave, the Government should consider amending legislation; however, no information was offered on which policy document should be amended or what changes should be incorporated in this document.

The second symbolic policy document was the National Policy for Gender Equality for the period 2011-2015. The document stated that to promote measures that facilitate achievement of a work-life balance, '[a]ctivities will be conducted to encourage an equal share of home and family tasks and an equal share of parental childcare responsibilities, including the promotion of using parental leave for fathers' (p. 49). No details were offered on how equal sharing of parental childcare responsibilities would be promoted and what would be done to encourage fathers to exercise their right to parental leave.

India

Nine national policy documents from India were analyzed. Unlike Croatia, actions to promote involvement of men in childcare were part of the national efforts to improve child health.

Material policies. Only two of the nine policy documents we reviewed fit into the ‘material’ category. The first policy document was the 12th Five-Year Plan (2012-2017), which stated that information about shared parenting and childcare responsibilities would be disseminated among mothers and community members as part of the national campaign against child malnutrition. The second policy document was the National Early Childhood Care and Education Policy (2013). The Policy stated that to address ‘the widespread belief that the child is the responsibility of only the mother’ (p. 19), public campaigns as well as parent and community outreach programs would be implemented to raise awareness among parents, caregivers, community members, and professionals.

Symbolic policies. Three policy documents analyzed were symbolic. For instance, the National Population Policy (2000) stated that ‘[t]he active involvement of men is called for in... helping after the baby is born and ... in being a responsible father’ (p. 11). However, no information on actions related to paternal involvement was offered in the operational strategies section of the document, where the policy's actions were listed.

The 10th Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) highlighted ‘the role of both parents in shared parenting’ (p. 266) and emphasized the importance of involvement of men to raise the status of girls and women. The document, however, did not specify actions to increase men’s involvement in childrearing. Finally, the National Plan of Action for Children (2005) outlined a set of goals and objectives focused on children's survival, growth,

protection, and development. As one of the strategies to promote optimal infant and young child nutrition, the document mentioned the need to '[e]mpower families for shared parenting' (p.10), however, it did not offer any information on actions to achieve this.

Neither material nor symbolic policies. The role of fathers in childcare was absent in four out of nine identified policy documents despite their relevance to paternal involvement promotion. For example, the overall goal of the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women was 'to bring about the advancement, development, and empowerment of women' (p. 2). Moreover, the Policy was aimed at implementing international obligations and commitments, including the ICPD PoA, the CEDAW, the CRC, and other international agreements. Yet, the document did not include any action related to paternal involvement, despite its stated objective to change community practices and societal attitudes through active participation and involvement of women and men.

Reference to paternal involvement also was absent in the Maternity Benefit Act (2008). This Act regulated entitlements for mothers only in the case of the birth of a child, and it did not include any information about entitlements for fathers. In other words, the Act considered childcare to be a mothers' responsibility rather than both parents' responsibility.

No information on paternal involvement was offered in the 9th Five-Year Plan (1997-2002) and the 11th Five-Year Plan (2007-2012) even though both Plans included objectives to empower women. Moreover, Plans emphasized the importance of implementing international conventions, including the CEDAW and the CRC. Despite that emphasis, both Plans failed to recognize fathers as child caregivers.

Mexico

We retained 13 national policy documents from Mexico for analysis and the majority of them (11 out of 13) included references to paternal involvement. Similar to Croatia, actions to promote involvement of men in childcare were part of the national policy efforts related to work and family life reconciliation and women's labor force participation.

Material policies. Four of the 13 policy documents included either a statement of intent tied to actions or actions only to promote paternal involvement in childcare. The included actions ranged from provision of paternity leave for fathers to education of parents and community members about responsible parenthood and available entitlements for fathers in case of birth of a child. For instance, the Federal National Program for Women (1995-2000) outlined a set of actions to increase women's participation in the labor market including implementation of education and communication activities to educate parents and community members about responsible parenting and equal sharing of domestic responsibilities.

Another material policy document was the 2012 version of Federal Labor Law, which granted fathers five days of paternity leave in the case of the birth of a child. The importance of labor law reforms and paternity leave introduction was acknowledged in several policy documents, including the Federal National Program for Women (1995-2000), National Development Plan (2007-2012), and National Program for Equality between Women and Men (2008-2012); however, the 1998 and 2006 versions of the Federal Labor Law of Mexico made no reference to paternal involvement. Only in 2012 was paternity leave introduced in Mexico.

Finally, after introduction of paternity leave in Mexico, two material policy documents included either statements of intent tied to actions or actions only to encourage fathers to exercise their right to take paternity leave. For instance, the National Program for the Equality of Opportunities and no Discrimination against Women (2013-2018) pointed out the necessity to implement actions to promote equal sharing of paid and unpaid work between women and men. One of the indicated actions was dissemination of information at workplaces about available paternity leave entitlements. A similar action was indicated in the Health Sector Program (2013-2018). The Program focused on strategies and actions needed to achieve national goals concerning health and healthcare. In addition, the Program outlined a set of actions that needed to be implemented in order to achieve national gender equality goals, one of which was to disseminate information about paternity leave entitlements through workplaces.

Symbolic policies. About half (7 out of 13) of the identified policy documents in Mexico were symbolic. For instance, the National Program for Equality between Women and Men (2008-2012) emphasized the importance of paternity leave policies for reconciling work and family life; however, it did not outline any specific actions for development, adoption, or implementation of this policy.

The importance of paternity leave was also emphasized in the General Law on Equality between Women and Men, which was ratified in 2006 and modified in 2013 and 2014. The document proposed a set of efforts that should be incorporated in the National Policy on Equality between Women and Men. These included national awareness campaigns promoting equal participation of women and men in ‘caring for persons dependent upon them’ (2006, 2013 and 2014 versions) and recognition of the rights of

fathers to have paternity leave and benefits (2013 and 2014 versions). The Law did not provide any specific information on how to implement these efforts.

References to paternal involvement were also made in the National Development Plans for 2007-2012 and for 2013-2018. The first Plan stated that ‘labor law reforms will be promoted’ (p. 213) to encourage shared maternal and paternal childcare responsibilities and facilitation of women’s integration into the labor market. However, the document did not include specifics on what kinds of reforms were needed and what actions would be undertaken for promotion of these reforms. The second Plan highlighted the importance of encouraging policies directed at men that favored their participation in domestic and care work. The Plan did not outline, however, how implementation of these policies would be encouraged.

Finally, reference to paternal involvement was included in the National Program for Equality of Opportunities and Non-Discrimination against Women (2000-2006). Although, the Program highlighted the importance of re-evaluating the social functions of maternity and paternity, the only outlined statement related to paternal involvement was in reference to the promotion of education programs directed at young people in order to prepare them for future responsibilities as mothers and fathers.

Discussion

Our study explored the national policy documents ratified in Croatia, India, and Mexico that included opportunities to increase men’s participation in childcare during the 20 years after the ICPD PoA placed this issue on the international agenda. Four important findings emerged regarding whether and how paternal involvement was addressed by national policies in these countries. First, between 1995 and 2014, national policy

documents in all three countries acknowledged the importance of paternal involvement. Paternal involvement was referenced in various types of policy documents including national policies, acts/laws, plans, and programs.

Second, the stated rationales and applied strategic approaches to increase fathers' involvement with their children differed markedly across countries. Indian policy documents situated paternal involvement in the context of child wellbeing (e.g., child nutrition, early childhood care and education), whereas Croatia and Mexico structured most of their interventions around female labor force participation and work and family life reconciliation. Thus, our results point out that work and family policy efforts in Croatia, India, and Mexico mostly revolve around three axes described by Gornick and Meyers' (2008): child wellbeing, work-family balance, and gender equality. The first axis focuses on the importance of parental care and parents' availability for health and development of children. The second axis focuses on changes in engagement of women in the labor market and provision of necessary assistance for women to balance time between the workplace and home. Finally, the third axis focuses on eliminating gender inequality in the labor market and providing equal access for women and men to political, economic, and social resources. Lack of emphasis on female gender force participation in India's policy documents might be due to the country's labor market structure. Formal sector jobs in India comprise only about 7% of all jobs; fewer formal sector jobs is associated with fewer women participating in the labor force (Das & Desai, 2003). Alternatively, women in India may not enter the labor market due to a cultural belief that female labor force participation threatens family honor (Eastin & Prakash, 2013).

Third, the ways in which paternal involvement was addressed notably varied across countries. While paternal involvement was referenced in the majority of policy documents, more than half of the policy documents from Croatia had the potential to affect men's involvement in childcare. At the same time, the majority of policy documents from Mexico and India failed to recognize the importance of men in childcare work. The level of informal employment in Croatia, India, and Mexico may explain some of the observed differences. About 92% of Indian workers (WIEGO, n.d.) and 60% of Mexican workers (FORLAC & ILO, 2014) are employed in the informal labor market²⁰, whereas in Croatia, about 27% of men work in the informal labor market (Glovackas, 2007). Given these numbers, Indian and Mexican policymakers may be less interested in increasing paternal involvement in caregiving via national legislation targeted at the formal labor market because such policies will not benefit the majority of the male workers in these two countries.

Fourth and lastly, provision of leave entitlements for men in case of a child's birth is how 'societies state publicly and in the strongest possible terms that they value the care work of men, and value care work in general' (Barker & Pawlak, 2011, p. 34). Therefore, during policy review we paid special attention to national leave entitlements for men and found that these entitlements also varied notably across countries. On the one hand, between 1995-2014, the government of Croatia incorporated various policy measures in order to encourage men to exercise their maternity/parental leave rights (e.g., provision of financial support, non-transferable individual right for leave, etc.). On the other hand, a 5-day paternity leave for men was introduced in Mexico only in 2012, whereas India still

²⁰ Informal labor market means production and employment which operate outside the State regulatory and tax systems (Nightingale & Wandner, 2011).

has no leave entitlements for fathers. Absence of leave entitlements for men in case of a child's birth or offering only few days of leave for fathers reinforces the notion that mothers are the main providers of childcare and fathers are only 'a backup for mothers'.

Policy and research implications

The level of specificity of actions outlined in a policy document may have a strong influence on the likelihood of policy implementation, including allocation of the budgetary resources for policy implementation and a policy's impact. Ambiguities around policy actions give policy implementers leeway for interpreting the policy. Hence, implementation, if it happens at all, may be less likely to achieve the policy's goals and objectives (CDC, n.d.). For example, specificity about benefit structures, eligibility, and financing designs in parental leave policies may encourage or discourage the gender equality in the leave's take-up (Gornick, 2012). In light of our findings, concrete policy efforts that focus both on intent and action will have to be developed and implemented in India and Mexico as one set of mechanisms to increase men's involvement in childcare in these countries.

Provision of parental leave entitlements for fathers is essential for promoting their participation in unpaid care work (Levtov, van der Gaag, Greene, Kaufman & Barker, 2015). Therefore, the Mexican and Indian governments should guarantee parental leave for fathers. Moreover, in order to appreciably increase child care involvement, parental leave needs to be non-transferable, job-protected, adequately paid, flexible, and allow for at least 16 weeks leave. If the leave entitlement does not meet these requirements, it reinforces existing gender disparities in child caregiving, reduces women's opportunities

to participate in the labor market, and reduces men's opportunities to participate in their children's lives (Heilman, Levtov, van der Gaag, Hassink & Barker, 2017).

The symbolic and material policy typology we used provided a clear approach for identifying important aspects of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican policy efforts, such as policy documents' content and their potential to affect men's participation in childcare. We found that governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico have applied various policy efforts to increase involvement of men with their children. Our results suggest a number of areas of inquiry in order to further increase understanding of the policy processes and insights into the most effective strategies for increasing men's participation in childcare.

First, policy actors play an important role in the policy process. Heterogeneity of the policy actors as well as their vested interests and resources (i.e., knowledge, expertise, finance, technologies) affect all stages of the policy process starting from policy agenda setting to policy initiation, formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation (Buse, Mays & Walt, 2005; Crichton, 2008). Therefore, exploring how various policy actors (e.g., non-state actors, interest or pressure groups, civil society representatives, etc.) influenced the policy process that led to the adoption of policies related to paternal involvement in Croatia, India, and Mexico is an important direction for future research. Results of such research can provide insights into how and why national policies are developed and enacted in these countries.

Second, future research should explore how research evidence is used for policy advocacy, development, adoption, implementation, and monitoring. Finally, results of this research set the stage for future assessment of the effectiveness of national policy efforts in Croatia, India, and Mexico in increasing the level of men's involvement in

unpaid care work. It is necessary to gather and analyze data on the distribution of caregiving work (including care for elders, children, and family members with health needs or disabilities) between women and men. In addition, since, there is no information available on men's maternal/parental/paternity leave take-up rates (Dobrotić, 2016; Pérez, 2016), special attention should be given to exploration of how many men exercise their right for this entitlement.

Limitations

The following limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings. We included only national policy documents that were approved or modified between 1995 and 2014. Some of the countries may have implemented policy efforts that promoted men's involvement in childcare prior to the selected time period. Limiting the review to a specific time period may lead to erroneous conclusions about the gender equality policy situations in Croatia, India, and Mexico. In our conversations with policy experts from Croatia, India, and Mexico, they indicated that the promotion of men's involvement with their children was not a priority area for the Croatian, Indian, and Mexican governments prior to 1995. Available information confirms these opinions. For instance, according to Dobrotić, Matković and Zrinščak (2013) in the 1990s the Croatian national policy documents mostly emphasized traditional gender distribution of responsibilities. Furthermore, Figueroa and Franzoni (2010) acknowledged that there were unsuccessful attempts to introduce paternity leave in the Federal Labor Code in Mexico during the 1990s and 2000s. Finally, no national paternal involvement effort was mentioned in India's 8th Five-Year Plan (1992-1997) or the initial CEDAW Report (United Nations, 1999). Another limitation is that only national policy documents were analyzed;

consequently, study results do not reflect paternal involvement policies adopted at the regional, district, and workplace/organizational levels.

Available literature suggests that the rate of paternal involvement in Croatia is higher than in Mexico and India. According to the International Men and Gender Equality Survey results, 63% of Croatian fathers reported that they participate in the daily care of a child, whereas, in Mexico and India this rate was only 46% and 37% respectively (Barker, et al., 2011). It is difficult to disentangle whether economic development and female labor force participation in Croatia resulted in higher rates of paternal involvement and creating material policy documents or the greater number of material policy documents were the driving forces behind the observed changes in fathers' involvement in childcare. Finally, it is possible that some policy documents may have been inadvertently missed. We believe, however, that application of various strategies for data collection and consultations with experts from Croatia, India, and Mexico, who are familiar with the national paternity involvement efforts, allowed us to address this limitation and collect comprehensive data.

Conclusion

Fatherhood presents a unique and important opportunity to engage men in childcare and increase their support for gender equality (MenCare, n.d.). The findings from this research suggest that two out of the three countries included in this study did not fully exploit this opportunity. Considering that the SDGs specifically focus on the recognition and value of unpaid care and domestic work, countries will need to take more concrete policy steps to promote shared responsibility for families and to shift norms and practices

away from the belief that childcare is the exclusive domain and responsibility of women as mothers. Budgetary allocations also will need to be made for policy implementation.

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CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since 1995, with ratification of the ICPD PoA, the importance of promoting men's participation in unpaid care, including childcare, has been recognized as an international priority. Available literature suggests that promotion of men's involvement in childcare is one of the important solutions to resolve some of the main global problems including health of children and their parents, gender equality, and economic development. Evidence shows that with increasing involvement of fathers in childcare, children experience more favorable health outcomes including lower rates of infant mortality (Tanaka, 2005) and better physical and mental health (Bronte-Tinkew, et al., 2008; Dex & Ward, 2007; Dubowitz, et al., 2001; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003a; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003b). Paternal involvement is also correlated with better health and well-being of mothers and fathers (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; Levkov, et al., 2015; Månsdotter, et al., 2007; Månsdotter & Lundin, 2010; Séjourné, Vaslot, Beaumé, Goutaudier & Chabrol, 2012).

Involvement of men in childcare can play an important role for empowerment of women and gender equality promotion. By sharing the unpaid care responsibilities, men enable their parenting partners to participate in the labor force, which increases their incomes and career outcomes. In addition, evidence suggests that boys who experienced responsive fathering during childhood are more likely to engage in childcare when they are older and they are more likely to develop egalitarian gender attitudes (Barker, et al.,

2012; Levtov, et al., 2014). Moreover, daughters, whose fathers participated in their care, are more likely to express interest in choosing less gender stereotypical occupations and labor force participation (Croft, Schmader, Block & Baron, 2014).

Finally, involvement of men in childcare brings economic benefits. Evidence suggests that providing a leave for men when their child was born improves employee retention, reduces costs of absenteeism and turnover as well as increases employee morale and productivity (Levtov, et al., 2015). Moreover, the level of women's participation in labor market is significantly higher in countries which provide paternity leave entitlement for men as compared to countries where this entitlement is not governed (Amin, Islam, Sakhonchik. 2016). It is also estimated that if women and men had the same level of labor force participation, it would increase the GDP in the United States by 5%, in Japan by 9%, in the United Arab Emirates by 12%, and in Egypt by 34% (Aguirre, Hoteit, Rupp, Sabbagh, 2012).

Taking into consideration these benefits, during the last decades numerous initiatives and policies have been implemented in many countries to advocate for greater availability and use of paternity leave policies as well as to promote greater involvement of fathers in childcare. In addition, various studies explored the determinants of men's participation in childcare and policy efforts made to promote paternal involvement. However, available research have been mainly conducted in countries with major developed economies (Jayakody & Phuong, 2012; Jesmin & Seward, 2011; Levtov, et al., 2015). In many countries with emerging and developing economies no research on this topic was done. My research aimed to fill these gaps and explored how men perceive paternity leave policies and what factors influence on paternal involvement in Croatia, India, and

Mexico. In addition, the study explored whether and how recommendations from the major global agreements and conventions related to paternal involvement promotion are addressed in national policy documents of these countries.

5.1 Manuscript I

For Manuscript I, I explored the association between men's gender attitudes and their endorsement of paternity leave policies as a way to begin to understand the determinants that predict men's support of paternity leave policies. In addition, in order to understand factors that influencing paternal involvement, I examined the association between men's gender attitudes and their actual involvement in caregiving among a sub-sample of fathers. I also explored whether men's leave-taking when their child was born mediated the association between their gender attitudes and involvement in child care.

Similar to results from previous research, more egalitarian gender attitudes were positively associated with paternity leave endorsement among men in Croatia and India, regardless of their partner status. Whereas in Mexico, I found this association only among men with stable partners. At the same time, the association between men's gender attitudes and paternity leave policy endorsement among Mexican men without stable partners was also positive, but insignificant. In terms of paternal involvement, I found that fathers' egalitarian gender attitudes were positively correlated with their involvement in childcare only in Croatia. Moreover, I found that fathers' leave taking when their child was born was not significantly correlated with their involvement in child care in any of the countries, thus, it could not serve as a mediator.

The results of this research confirm the associations between men's egalitarian gender attitudes and their paternity leave policy endorsement as well as their paternal practices.

These findings affirm that the deconstruction of existing gender stereotypes and rigid social norms is one of the important means for promoting equitable caregiving and positive parenting. Available literature suggests that group education, school-based interventions, community outreach, and mass media campaigns are effective approaches for changing inequitable gender attitudes and norms (WHO, 2007). Therefore, these types of intervention activities need to be implemented in Croatia, India, and Mexico. Doherty and his colleagues (1998) pointed out that "[f]ather-child relations...are.. multilateral, requiring a threshold of support from inside the family and from the larger environment. Undermining from the mother or from a social institution or system may induce many fathers to retreat from responsible fathering" (p. 287). Therefore, the target populations of these intervention activities should include not only fathers and mothers but also family and community members, employers, religion leaders, and others.

Evidence also suggest that involvement of men in maternal, newborn, and child health as well as sexual and reproductive health can not only contribute to positive health outcomes for children and women but also change men's gender stereotypical norms and behaviors in a meaningful way (Levtov, et al., 2015). Therefore, public health interventions and policies as well as health systems norms and regulations should consider men as targets for information and services. Finally, national work-life reconciliation policies and leave entitlements for fathers when their child was born can shift social attitudes and constructions about appropriate gender and parenting responsibilities in an egalitarian direction (Gornick, 2012; Rostgaard, 2002).

The following noteworthy research implications emerge from this research. First, this research explored the determinants of men's endorsement of paternity leave policies and

fathers' involvement in caregiving across three countries with emerging and developing economies. However, number of such studies is limited. Considering that currently massive changes in parenting roles and practices are taking place worldwide, more research in countries with cultural, historical, and socioeconomic differences in how patriarchy is expressed is needed. Results of these studies will help to better understand variations across cultures in how men are involved with their children and how specific social and cultural contexts shape their fathering experiences. In addition, results of this research will identify best practices that enable men to share the burden of childcare with their parenting partners.

Second, taking into consideration that IMAGES data was collected among men residing in the selected areas of Croatia, India, and Mexico, additional studies with more diverse and nationally representative sample sizes are needed. Results of this research will confirm whether and to what extent the findings and conclusions of my research are transferable to other settings of Croatia, India, and Mexico and can be generalized to all men from these countries.

Finally, given that the IMAGES data relies on self-reported data, it may contain several potential sources of bias, including social desirability and selective memory, which may result in some over- or under-estimation of the findings. For this reason, future research should use additional measures to assess paternal involvement. For example, observations and/or interviewing of parenting partners and children about men's involvement in childcare can help to assess the accuracy of fathers' self-reported data and confirm the validity of research findings.

5.2 Manuscript II

This study documented national policy efforts undertaken from 1995 through 2014 to increase men's participation in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. I examined national policy documents because they are considered an important factor that can contribute to the promotion of men's involvement in childcare (Švab & Humer, 2013). In the short term, these policy efforts provide parents with options to equalize among each other allocation of time for paid and unpaid work. In the long term, they can transform the gendered divisions of paid labor and unpaid care work by shaping social constructions of parenthood and determining what is considered "normal" gender responsibilities and "good parenting" (Gornick, 2012; Rostgaard, 2002).

I applied a directed approach to the content analysis in my review of 33 national policy documents from Croatia, India, and Mexico. I found that during the 20 years after the ICPD PoA placed paternal involvement on the international agenda, the governments of all three countries acknowledged the importance of this issue in the majority of analyzed policy documents. Paternal involvement was referenced in various types of policy documents including national policies, acts/laws, plans, programs. I found that the stated rationales and applied strategic approaches to increase fathers' involvement with their children differed markedly across countries. Indian policy documents situated paternal involvement in the context of child wellbeing (e.g., child nutrition, early childhood care and education), whereas Croatia and Mexico structured most of their interventions around female labor force participation and work and family life reconciliation. The ways in which paternal involvement was addressed in the policy documents also notably varied across countries. The majority of the policy documents

from Croatia (9 of 11 policies) had the potential to affect men's involvement in childcare. At the same time, more than half of the policy documents from Mexico (9 of 13 policies) and India (7 of 9 policies) failed to recognize the importance of men in childcare work. Moreover, between 1995 and 2014, the government of Croatia incorporated various policy measures (e.g., provision of financial support, non-transferable individual right for leave, etc.) in order to encourage men to exercise their parental leave rights. On the other hand, a 5-day paid optional paternity leave for men was introduced in Mexico only in 2012, whereas India still has no leave entitlements for fathers. Absence of leave entitlements for fathers or offering only a few days of leave reinforces the notion that mothers are the main providers of childcare and fathers are only "a backup for mothers".

Taken together, the results from this research suggest that concrete policy efforts that focus both on intent and action will have to be made in India and Mexico as one set of mechanisms to increase men's involvement in childcare in these countries. Given the positive outcomes of father involvement, importance of addressing gender disparities in child caregiving should be acknowledged not only in the national gender equality policy documents, but also in policy documents related to health of women, newborns, and children, nutrition, and early child development. In addition, provision of parental leave entitlements for fathers is an essential step to promote their participation in unpaid care work (Levtov, et al., 2015). Therefore, governments of Mexico and India should guarantee provision of this leave for all parents, regardless of their gender, which is non-transferable, job-protected, adequately paid, and adequate in length for each parent. If the leave entitlement does not meet these requirements, it reinforces existed gender disparities in child caregiving, reduces women's opportunities to participate in the labor

market, and reduces men's opportunities to participate in lives of their children (Heilman, Levtoy, van der Gaag, Hassink & Barker, 2017).

I see the following two important directions in which results of this research could be extended in the future. First, the symbolic and material policy typology provided a clear approach for defining important aspects of Croatian, Indian, and Mexican policy efforts, such as the policy's content and its potential to affect men's participation in childcare. However, not only a policy's content, but also policy's actors (i.e., individuals, organizations, agencies that develop and implement a policy), process (i.e., the process of policy's initiation, development, implementation, and evaluation), and context (i.e., political, social, and economic environment in which a policy is implemented) may have a strong influence on the likelihood of a policy's successful implementation and its impact (Walt & Gilson, 1994). In order to provide insights as how best to intervene to increase men's participation in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico, these three factors should be investigated. Second, I found that governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico have made various policy efforts to promote paternal involvement. Results of my policy analysis set the stage for future assessment of the impact of these efforts on the level of men's involvement in childcare in Croatia, India, and Mexico. In addition, since there is no information available on men's maternal / parental / paternity leave take-up rates in Croatia and Mexico (Dobrotić, 2016; Pérez, 2016), researchers should explore how many men exercise their right for these entitlements. Results of this research will determine if and to what extent the expected changes in fathers' parental behavior occur and if these changes can be attributed to the existing policy efforts. In addition, these results will help

to identify areas for improvement that should be taken into consideration during development of new policy documents.

5.3 Conclusion

The ICPD PoA was ratified more than twenty years ago, however, results of this research suggest that although some fathers assume more childcare responsibilities than decades earlier, uptake is taking place at an incredibly slow rate in all studied countries. Moreover, governments of India and Mexico have been slow to implement policy efforts aimed at addressing gender disparities in child caregiving. Considering that the SDGs specifically focus on the recognition and value of unpaid care and domestic work, governments of Croatia, India, and Mexico will need to take more concrete steps to promote shared responsibility for families and to shift norms and practices away from the belief that childcare is the exclusive domain and responsibility of women as mothers.

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